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Geneva Peace Talks Break Down Without Agreement

AU0109181593 Paris AFP in English 1804 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By Peter Mackler]

[Text] Geneva, Sept 1 (AFP)—Bosnian peace talks which appeared headed toward settlement abruptly broke down Wednesday [1 September] as the three parties angrily acccused one another of last-minute intransigence with an accord in sight.

"The co-chairmen have finished the talks," Croatian President Franjo Tudjman told reporters. "Everybody is leaving, there is no agreement."

Tudjman said the Croats wanted a settlement but in a reference to the Muslim-led government said, "unfortunately there are some who are not interested in peace but in the continuation of the war."

Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban said, "Harbingers of death have broken up the talks today. I am saddened."

But officials of the Sarajevo government, who earlier reported movement in talks on the ethnic partition of Bosnia, blamed the Serbs and Croats for refusing what they called reduced and "minimal" demands.

Fikret Abdic, a Muslim member of the collective Bosian presidency, said that mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg were "afraid that all humanitarian activities will be jeopardised."

Diplomatic sources said Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic found the offers from the Serbs and Croats insufficient but had been ready to come back Thursday for more discussions.

The turnaround came as the year-old talks appeared to be heading toward a settlement based on the division of Bosnia into three republics along ethnic lines.

The Bosnian Government had been the only holdout to a proposal for a loose Bosnian union that would give them 30 percent of the former Yugoslav republic to 52 percent for separatist Serbs and 18 percent for Croats.

Diplomatic sources had said Bosnian Serbs had made territorial concessions in eastern Bosnia to the reluctant Muslim-led government to allow it to link its enclaves with Sarajevo and the rest of central Bosnia. But a key stumbling black was Muslim access to the Adriatic Sea via the mainly Croat port of Neum.

They said the Muslims had also sought more Serb-held land in the northwest but would not insist on the point in the face of strong Serb opposition.

"I do sense there is some movement," Muhamed Sacirbey, the Bosnian ambassador to the United Nations, had said as a year of negotiations sponsored by the European Community and United Nations appeared headed towards a climax.

But Sacirbey warned that the Bosnian delegation would not accept an agreement at any price after placing their minimum conditions on the table here.

"If the intention of people is to now again slice those minimum requests by half in the expectation that they will satisfy, that would be an incorrect assumption," he said.

UN envoy Thorvald Stoltenberg and EC mediator Lord Owen began the current round of talks Tuesday giving little hope of negotiating a much better deal for the Muslims.

Efforts had focused on international guarantees that the accord would be respected, including the dispatch of 40,000 to 50,000 UN troops—half reportedly from the United States—to police a settlement.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic stressed such guarantees were "the most important thing." He expressed satisfaction with discussions so far but said details needed to be worked out.

"The most important thing is how a refugee can go back home if he does not feel secure," Silajdzic said.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, whose country is a traditional ally of the Serbs, urged all sides Wednesday to make concessions "and to exercise as much realism as possible."

In an apparent reference to Bosnian calls for air strikes against the Serbs, he also warned the parties "not to count on somebody coming and solving their problems either by force or by a magic stick of some kind."

The United States, for its part, kept its low profile in the negotiations with its special envoy Charles Redman stressing that "it is Izetbegovic's call" whether to accept the partition proposal.

To underline the world community's commitment, UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali met here Wednesday with Manfred Woerner, secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

They said they discussed Bosnia peacekeeping but would not give details of the planned military force.

Izetbegovic: Demands Not Met

LD0109221393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Zoran Filovic from Geneva]

[Text] The latest round of the Geneva talks has been unsuccessful because, for all practical purposes, not a single demand submitted by the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation was met under the ultimatum-style plan for

the division of the country into three republics. At the meeting of all sides tonight, chaired by David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the Serbian aggressor side's sole suggestion was to widen, by up to three kilometers, the corridor between Gorazde and Zepa, a far cry from the demands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly for alterations to the map of eastern Bosnia, Bosnian Krajina, and the future Bosnian republic's access to the sea.

Following this failure at the talks the Croatian and Serbian delegations are leaving Geneva tonight. It is not known yet when our country's delegation will return to Sarajevo.

Shortly after the breakdown of the talks, President Izetbegovic held a news conference. He first read out a special statement, saying that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation today submitted its minimum demands to the cochairmen of the Geneva conference and to the other delegations. These alterations are necessary not only in order for the Bosnian state to be capable of surviving. They are also necessary in order to give peace a realistic chance, the president of the presidency said. The Bosnian people have fallen victim to external aggression and genocide, Izetbegovic went on to say. Despite this fact, we have been negotiating in a spirit of goodwill, making the greatest possible concessions so as to rekindle hopes for peace. Given that international forces have failed to abide by their own principles, they cannot expect under the current arms embargo that the Bosnians alone can continue their struggle for their country and for the principles we all share.

These are the reasons why we have opted for the peace process and made painful and unjust concessions, Izetbegovic told the press. It seems that those who have won the most in this war are unwilling to accept [word indistinct] compromise. The minimum of minimums we presented at the conference today would have allowed for a state which could function in political and economic terms. This would also have enabled 500,000 Bosnian refugees to return to their homes, the president of the presidency said. This would also have given a Bosnian republic unhindered access to the sea and helped the international community to implement its plan in a less dangerous and costly way.

We are not going to continue waging war. We made this clear to the cochairmen and to the other sides. We said that we remain at their disposal in order to continue the talks, President Izetbegovic said at the conclusion of his statement in Geneva tonight.

Asked which major demands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegations had not been met, President Izetbegovic replied:

[Begin recording] We had certain political requirements. They referred to our demand that political pluralism be secured on the whole territory of the union. This means that the political parties which are active in one republic can also be active in the other republics. We asked for that because in that political activity we saw a chance for the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Our second demand concerned the proportional representation of all nationalities in all the governments of the future republics. These were two main demands concerning the textual part of the agreement.

As far as the maps are concerned, we have three existential requirements. The first concerns the region of eastern Bosnia. We have set the minimum requirement for correcting the maps in that part. The second requirement concerns correcting the map in the Krajina region, that is the northwest part of the republic. Muslims are a majority in these areas. And we asked for minimum corrections there as well. When we summed it up, the corrections were only 4 percent of the total territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Finally, we asked for free access to the sea in the region of Neum, which is in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, these requirements were not met. The two requirements concerning the changes in the text were not rejected, but the corrections to the map were mainly rejected. Instead of obtaining the essential corrections in eastern Bosnia we obtained a three-kilometer corridor which would connect the enclaves of Zepa and Srebrenica with Gorazde. We can see the extent to which the map is unjust from the map I have here. These red spots indicate the places of mass genocide against Muslim people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They all remain under the control of the forces which committed the genocide. We have asked for at least a partial correction in order that at least part of the expelled population can return. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

[Filovic] Asked whether the three-kilometer corridor was the only concession by the two aggressor sides Izetbegovic said:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Yes, it was the only concession with a remark that further corrections to the map are possible only on the basis of further [words indistinct]. We failed to obtain any (?concessions) in Krajina and toward the west. [end recording]

[Filovic] Asked whether Sarajevo can survive yet another winter under siege, he said it will be difficult, but he thinks it can. Izetbegovic said that neither the Croatian nor the Serb aggressor sides made the expected concessions. The Bosnian side will observe the five-point agreement on ending hostilities with the Serb side, Izetbegovic said, adding that he obtained information in principle from the United Nations, the European Community, and the United States regarding their participation in the implementation of the constitutional agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Specific decisions are in the process of being adopted, President Izetbegovic said at the end of the press conference.

The latest round of Geneva talks has been suspended without any specific results except for yet another agreement on observing a cease-fire. It is extremely unclear whether the talks will continue, in what conditions, and within what framework, and it is equally difficult to predict the UN Security Council's and the European Community's reactions to this unwanted breakdown in the negotiating process.

Karadzic: Muslims Responsible

AU0209094193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0736 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, by Zoran Jevdjovic; "after the interruption of Geneva talks" on 1 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] At the end of this round of the Geneva talks—and that end was of a kind we would not like to be repeated—President Karadzic, can one say, in your opinion, that the Muslims are to blame for the interruption of the negotiations and for the failure of the talks, the success of which we had hoped for until almost the last moment.

[Karadzic] One absolutely has to say that the Muslim side is responsible for the (?delay) if not for the failure of this round of talks, namely, both the Serbian and the Croatian sides have made great efforts and granted the last concessions. These concessions were made on the condition that they would represent a solution. Therefore, when we were here last time, we agreed in a way that this should represent a package. This package was accepted by the Serbs and the Croats. The Muslims rejected it, setting new demands to the effect that the talks should be started anew with a completely new beginning. I think they are completely responsible for this.

[Jevdjovic] In your opinion, what this in fact means in the field, in Bosnia, and regarding the possibility of a possible continuation of the talks, although it is not clear whether there is any sense in negotiating with such negotiators as Izetbegovic, who probably has the support of some circles in the world that [words indistinct].

[Karadzic] I do not believe there will be any great international support for the Muslim side for the interruption of these talks. We remain at the disposal of the international community and the mediators so that this package may perhaps be [word indistinct] signed. The concessions that we granted we must withdraw. They have been withdrawn by the very fact that no solution has been found, that is, that the solution has not been accepted. I personally think that the international community cannot maintain at least the sanctions imposed by Resolution 820. These sanctions should be withdrawn and the Muslim side should be faced with the rejection by the international community, that is, with the fact that the international community will withdraw support for such a development and such Muslim behavior.

Regarding the Muslim people, I am personally very sorry because the Muslims are losing their lives for some territories that have been given to them by this plan. It is completely unclear, nobody can explain why the Muslims should die for something that has been given to them, something that they could enjoy. On the other hand, the state that was offered to them is not the smallest country in Europe. There is a certain number, a considerable number of states that are smaller and poorer than that one. I do not know how they, how is this leadership going to explain to the Muslim people that they should continue to lose their lives and to suffer further together with the Serbs and the Croats.

[Jevdjovic] At the end of the talks, when he was leaving, Croatian President Tudjman also blamed the Muslim side, that is, the Muslim leadership, for the interruption of the negotiations. Fikret Abdic, member of the Muslim Presidency, was also not particularly pleased with all that happened. His explanations referred more to efforts toward attempting to keep some sort of contact with both Serbs and the Croats.

[Karadzic] This only fits into what we already know and that is that great changes are taking place in the Muslim national community, that many people do not favor war, that the Tuzla region, for example, obviously does not want to suffer any longer. It is one of the richest regions in the Balkans and nobody denies that it is Muslim. The question arises of why these people should get killed in Majevica or elsewhere in attempts to take some Serbian territories. I think that what Abdic said is a very significant indicator.

[Jevdjovic] Does this mean that the Muslim leadership is now in fact implementing somebody else's policy and not the policy of the interests of their own people that they represent?

[Karadzic] It certainly is not in the interest of their own people. (?Is it that) somebody is encouraging the Muslims to constantly reject the honorable outcome of the offered solutions... [pauses] in the offered solutions and this solution is honorable. There would be no losers or winners here: the Muslims, who control 10 percent of the territory, would gain 20 percent more, that is, they would get more than 30 percent of the territory. They would not be losers. The situation could finally calm down and we could turn to normal life, to the economy. I don't know if anyone is encouraging them to do this or not, but I think that they do not have their people's authorization, their people's support to lose their lives for territories that would be given to them anyway.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you.

Tudjman on Failure of Talks

LD0209111793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by correspondent Jozo Curic on 1 September, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Curic] Mr. President, the conference has been adjourned due to the Muslim side's opposition. What is your comment?

[Tudjman] In a sense this is surprising, because even very important factors in the framework of the conference believed that Alija Izetbegovic would nevertheless accept the agreement, under which there are reasons for his dissatisfaction as well as for the dissatisfaction of the

Croatian side. This agreement was, nevertheless, of such a nature that it offered the Bosnian Muslim republic both room for survival, and a solution that could have been regarded as satisfactory within the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Almost everyone, I have talked with the cochairmen and their aides as well as a U.S. representative, Ambassador Redman and Vitaliy Churkin, Russia's deputy minister for foreign affairs, almost everyone believed that the proposed solution was such, and that the talks conducted with Alija Izetbegovic provided a reason to believe that the peace agreement would be signed.

The Muslim side, however, again raised, repeatedly, some new demands that could not have been accepted by either the Croatian or the Serbian side. Regardless of the fact that these demands, as far as the Serbs are concerned, were in a certain sense morally justified, meaning they demanded all those areas in eastern Bosnia, most of those areas in eastern Bosnia that were in the past inhabited by Muslims [sentence as received].

Their demand aimed at the Croatian side, however, that Croatian Neum, a Croatian area that was envisaged as part of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, and which was historically granted to Bosnia; i.e., Turkey bought it under the Pozarevac peace [agreement] from the Dubrovnik republic, partly because since the Dubrovnik people wanted to protect themselves from Venice, they sold and granted Neum and Klek, as well as Suturina. Later, in the former Socialist Yugoslavia Bosnia's access to the sea was given to Montenegro, and was only preserved here on Croatian soil in line with the obvious intention to divide Croatian territory, to dismantle Croatia's south, including Dubrovnik, along the lines of greater Serbia's grand imperialist policy, aiming to appropriate Dubrovnik at one point or another.

Since the Serbs did not manage to achieve this, either in the past or in this war, now it is the Muslims who have raised this demand that this area be given to them, that is to split Croatia territorially in two, not exactly to halve it, but in any case to divide it. Consequently this is a groundless demand, but in the course of our talks, the Croatian side was even in this respect willing to make certain concessions, to demonstrate our goodwill; if it turns out that there are technical and ecological possibilities of building some port to their benefit on Croatian territory, we will agree to this. In other words, we made this ultimate concession as our contribution to peace so no responsibility could have been shifted onto us for the failure of the conference.

However, as you can see, this irrationality in Muslim policies has won. At the end of the conference I thanked Cochairmen Lord Owen and Mr. Stoltenberg on the efforts they had invested. They and their aides, Ahtisaari and others, were indeed doing their best to make the conference a success, to bring about a satisfactory peace. When toward the end, Fikret Abdic, who in fact accepted this agreement, ended up being isolated within the Muslim leadership, when Izetbegovic was with Silajdzic and Filipovic who rejected the agreement, and when Fikret Abdic suggested that we should stay on for another day, I said that I would have accepted even this possibility, had it not been an open secret that the inner circle of the Muslim leadership had let us know, and said so, that regardless of what Alija Izetbegovic negotiated, regardless of what he agreed or did not agree to, the Muslims would not accept it.

This is what the cochairmen of the conference also realized so they closed the conference, saying that they would remain available within the next week or month and asking that at least, combat operations should not be restarted. Obviously, in all probability the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will unfortunately continue until a political solution is achieved. This is why this decision by the Muslim leadership is irrational and incomprehensible. It will damage everyone in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as all the countries in its vicinity, not just Croatia and Serbia but, as it was stressed at the conference table, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina affects other neighboring countries, including Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Austria, and Slovenia.

Consequently, the world is interested in putting an end to the war and preventing this from turning into a flash point of a wider confrontation.

[Curic] Mr. President, this is something the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina are interested in as well as others in the world. Is Croatia willing to take part in future conferences provided they are convened, if the Muslims change their mind after a period of time?

[Tudjman] Yes, of course. It is understandable that we will be ready to participate since peace is truly in our interest. It is in our interest to put an end to the suffering of the Croatian people and to secure their future. It is also in our interest to secure Croatia's borders. We are also interested in solving at last, in conjunction with a solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] zones in Croatia, so we can concentrate on rebuilding Croatia once the war has ended. Consequently, we will do our best to initiate fresh talks and a new peace. In today's circumstances, these days one should, however, wait and see what the Muslims are going to do, because they are responsible for the failure of the conference.

[Curic] My last question. Your meeting with Milosevic did not pass unnoticed. This was a matter of normalization of Croat-Serbian relations as a precondition for a possible lifting of sanctions against Serbia. What is Croatia's position?

[Tudjman] I met President Milosevic just as I met all the other participants regarding the question of final formulations in this agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina. We also, understandably, talked about how to normalize Croat-Serbian relations by, above all, solving the UNPA zones in Croatia. I told Mr. Milosevic that I had told the Croatian delegation that they could no longer negotiate

with the Serbs of Knin anywhere abroad, that talks should be held in either Zagreb or Knin, or anywhere else in Croatia but never again abroad. Mr. Milosevic agreed to this and said that he was going to exercise his influence and tell them that they ought to negotiate either in Knin or Zagreb, that one should start resolving specific issues, including communications, power lines, rail and road communications, oil pipelines, and normalization, in general, of relations in the direction of the overall normalization of Croat-Serbian relations.

Understandably, I also again singled out the problem of Serbia's, i.e. Yugoslavia's demand for lifting sanctions. We regard this demand in conjunction with a solution to the UNPA zones in Croatia.

[Curic] Thank You.

Milosevic, Karadzic Cited

LD0209105993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 2 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has in Geneva expressed belief that peace is close in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that peace orientations will prevail over war options regardless of the failure of the latest round of Geneva talks on Wednesday [1 September].

'Top officials within the Muslim delegation and leadership want the agreement to be accepted. I hope that, in the coming period, this decision will mature and that together we will shortly reach a peace which will be in the interests of all three peoples,' Milosevic told Television Belgrade.

The Geneva peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina unexpectedly broke down on Wednesday evening due to Bosnian Muslim inflexible persistence at a moment when it seemed that agreement was within reach after the Bosnian Serbs and Croats made new concessions.

Milosevic said that the majority of citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, represented by the Muslim leadership, quietly support a peace option. 'I believe that the forthcoming processes will enable their voice to be heard more loudly and that the final decision will in the end be theirs.'

The Serbian president expects the Bosnian Serbs to strictly respect the [words indistinct] because the renewal of the fighting would most certainly be against their interests.

'Our stand remains unchanged. We believe that the sole solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is that which will affirm the interests of all three peoples (Serb, Muslim and Croat), and not be at the expense of anyone,' he said.

The proposed peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina is such [words indistinct] proposal and, regardless of possible minor changes, in the end it should represent a final solution for the Bosnian crisis, Milosevic said.

Geneva conference co-chairman Lord David Owen said that conditions for the talks still exist because the proposed peace package secures territories for the Muslims.

Lord Owen recalled that the Vance-Owen plan, the former peace project for Bosnia-Herzegovina, fell through after it was abandoned by the Western governments and expressed doubts in the international community's readiness to break the stalemate situation, although he said he has not completely lost hope that some moves could be made.

Thorwald Stoltenberg, the other co-chairman and U.N. representative in the peace talks, added that after the conference was cut short, all participants now need a break and time to think things over and decide on future steps.

'I believe that, in the end, the conflict will end with negotiations,' Stoltenberg said.

Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic said that the Serbs could not accept the efforts of the Muslim side to renew negotiations about the entire package. This would be unacceptable for the Croats as well because the package was adopted with difficulty by the parliaments of the two republics.

Although disappointed by the failure of the talks, Karadzic expressed hope that the Muslims would not renew the fighting as their top representatives said they are willing to maintain peace along the front lines.

He also said he hoped that the international factors would try to salvage the conference and added that the Bosnian Serbs would aid this with their efforts to achieve the continuation of the talks.

Milosevic on Breakdown

AU0209094393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0730 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Zoran Jevdjovic, after the interruption in the Geneva talks, on 1 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] We would like to say thanks to Alija Izetbegovic, the Geneva round of talks having this time again ended suddenly and in a way not expected by any well-intentioned person in the international community, especially the citizens of the former Yugoslavia. How do you, Mr. President, assess this conclusion considering that, judging by statements made by [Croat President]

Tudjman and even some members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the conference, as we can see, was interrupted by the Muslims. Are they responsible for the interruption of the talks?

[Milosevic] I do not want to pass judgment nor assess the behavior of the Muslim leadership, not because I do not have a view on this, but because I think that this decision and this behavior should, above all, be assessed by the Muslim citizens. This is, above all, their right. I believe that their citizens, the huge majority of whom I believe want peace, have all that is necessary to assess the consequences and responsibility of the decision to reject the peace plan.

Therefore, I would like not to assess the position of the Muslim leadership, but to say what I expect from the Serbian side. Above all this includes strict observance of the cease-fire. I think that right now it is necessary to secure the consistent observance of the cease-fire in deeds and not only statements. I am convinced that the leadership of the republic of Srpska and the Serbian army will observe the cease-fire and the obligations they have assumed in order to create conditions for the continuation of the conference, and to finally establish peace.

Regardless of the failure of this round of talks, I believe that peace is close and that commitments to peace will win over commitments to war. After all, you saw that the most responsible people within the Muslim delegation itself, their leadership—you mentioned Fikret Abdic—want the agreement to be accepted. I hope that this decision, regardless of how difficult it is, will evolve in the period ahead—not too long a period—and that, after all, together, we will manage to establish a peace that will take into account and respect the interests of all three peoples.

[Jevdjovic] So, what is important for the Serbs at present is not to allow themselves to be branded as a perpetual wrongdoer—most often the Serbs—and not to allow something that might justify such an assessment. [sentence as heard]

[Milosevic] A failure to observe the cease-fire will certainly be against the interests of the Serbian people. I am sure that both the army and the leadership of the republic of Srpska know this very well and that they will observe it.

[Jevdjovic] Can we make just one remark? Whose policy is then the current Muslim leadership in Geneva actually implementing if it is already obvious that the Muslim people are effectively being pushed towards disaster, towards more deaths?

[Milosevic] This is difficult to say at present. Some things simply cannot be said, but it is obvious that there are great differences among them and, I would say, great clashes. They are in a position to assess their own political positions and their own political interests. However, there is a silent voice that is not being heard, a voice that is too quiet. I am sure it is the voice of the majority of the citizens they represent, citizens who, I am sure, want peace.

I think that the process ahead of us will make it possible for this voice to be heard much louder and that this voice will make the final decision.

[Jevdjovic] What will be Yugoslavia's position in the period ahead with regard to all this (?process)?

[Milosevic] Our position remains unchanged. We think that the only solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is to find a solution that will affirm equally the interests of all three peoples, a solution that will not be to the detriment of anyone. I am convinced that the package that was proposed, the complete peace plan, in fact represents this fair proposal—a fair offer, an offer that, I hope, regardless of whether it undergoes some minor changes, will in the end represent the final solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

[Jevdjovic] Just one more thing. Does this in fact indicate that the sanctions against Yugoslavia, that is Serbia and Montenegro, are founded on a questionable basis—considering that the entire course of the situation demonstrates that we are neither the side waging the war, not the side that wants the continuation of the war, nor the side, especially, that is contributing to the way things are going at present.

[Milosevic] It is obvious that with the course of events the sanctions ceased to be founded on any firm arguments. In other words, they became void of any foundation. One should indeed ask the citizens, media, and politicians of the countries that are still insisting on the sanctions against our country, how it is possible for someone to push for the continuation of sanctions against the Serbs because the Muslims have rejected the peace plan, and whether this kind of stand can withstand moral, or political, or human criticism.

I hope that this attitude will reach the conscience of the international public, and that we are on the threshold of a solution to a problem that is of immense importance to us.

Zagreb TV on Talks

LD0109200993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Excerpts] We have a report on the day's events in Geneva. Despite pressure from the world, the Muslims want to again take control of the corridor in eastern Bosnia and the sea. Lord Owen and Stoltenberg met the Croatian representatives this afternoon. Among circles close to the cochairmen one hears about a piece of paper circulating at the delegation heads' meeting.

Last night the Muslims demanded access to the Croatian sea. They were resolutely turned down. At this morning's talks, the Muslims again asked for access to the sea. Izetbegovic suggested the construction of a bridge over

the Adriatic Main Road near Neum. He also demands that the Croats sell him the Klek peninsula for hard currency.

Herceg-Bosna president Boban replied: We will sell nothing. We ourselves are looking for places where we can buy islands. The continuity of Croatian territory in the Samac area is being negotiated with the Serbs.

You are acting as if you have won a war, as if you have not lost a war, Izetbegovic says, and then denies that this is what Lord Owen has told him. [passage omitted]

The president of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna demands that the other two sides secure access for humanitarian aid to besieged Croatian areas in central Bosnia. In an appeal supported by President Tudjman, the Croats demand the release of wounded and imprisoned Croats. They also demand that the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] should visit the locations where all three sides are holding their captives. The Croats support the release of all Muslim soldiers in captivity who will cease attacking the Croats. The Herceg-Bosna president, supported by the Croatian president, demands that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], UNHCR, and ICRC publish reports on the conduct of all three sides concerning these problems.

The Croats stress that the other two sides have denied the Red Cross access to the camps. The Muslims have imprisoned 4,500 Croats in 34 camps. The Geneva-based Balkans War Crimes Commission has announced that it intends to start investigating Ovcara [mass grave near Vukovar] within the next month and a half.

Sarinic, head of the Croatian Office for National Security, and Zuzul, Croatian ambassador to the UN in Geneva, have talked to the French and German heads of mission. The two diplomats drew the Croatian side's attention to reports on the deteriorating situation in Krajina. They appealed to Croatia to do everything to prevent any escalation in hostilities. They demanded the implementation of provisions in the Vance plan, Erdut agreement, and UN Security Council resolutions. Hrvoje Sarinic said that the separate implementation of the Erdut agreement is out of the question since it is included in the UN Security Council's resolutions, and if they are implemented this agreement will be implemented too.

The Croatian side warned that it only accepts talks within Croatia, in Knin or Zagreb, but not abroad. Last night Milosevic also showed support for this. [passage omitted]

Belgrade TV on Breakdown

AU0109185293 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Sept 93

[Report by Zoran Jevdjovic from Geneva]

[Text] Esteemed viewers, just after 1900, in the Palace of Nations in Geneva, where, prior to this, a plenary session had been in progress, the talks came to an abrupt end, which practically means that this round of negotiations on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina has failed. One might say that as we have already become accustomed to the behavior of Alija Izetbegovic, who has always—at the worst possible moment and always in a way that does not agree with those people who want peace and stability in the Balkans—made decisions that do not suit the peoples in the Balkans and in the former Yugoslavia. He has done so on earlier occasions. Whether he did this of his own accord or according to somebody's bad advice, we cannot say as yet.

Namely, this time, in spite of the day-long efforts, when all the participants did their utmost to reach an agreement, to achieve a compromise that would accommodate repeated Muslim demands, and despite new conditions for accepting the agreement, Alija Izetbegovic did not find it necessary to accept these efforts and the appeals of the representatives of the international community, the cochairmen, and politicians present here in Geneva. He discarded all this and we have to say that, unfortunately, the meeting was cut short some time after 1900.

At the moment, it is hard to assess how the negotiations will evolve in the future, and how the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis will be solved. Immediately after the meeting ended, the first person to leave the Palace of Nations was Croatian President Tudjman who briefly told journalists that, although he personally thought that this round of negotiations could not be assessed as a total failure, the most important thing is that the entire international public could see who is the reason for the problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and who is the one who stirs trouble and does not want to reach an agreement, that is, who is obstructing the peaceful solution for the future of this former Yugoslav republic.

Truly, there is nothing left for us at the moment except to agree with the Croatian president's remarks, and to conclude that, this time, it is crystal clear that, despite the obvious efforts of all the participants, the cochairmen, and representatives of the international community, the Muslim side has persisted in its absolutely unrealistic territorial demands and conditions for achieving an agreement. That is why the negotiations have been cut short yet again.

Bosnian Spokesman Retracts Owen Statement Claim

AU0109125293 Paris AFP in English 1230 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Geneva, Sept 1 (AFP)—A spokesman for the Bosnian delegation Wednesday [1 September] retracted a claim that peace mediator Lord Owen had told the Moslem-led government that "you have lost the war" and must sign a settlement.

Various versions of the remark Tuesday by Mirza Hajric, spokesman for the delegation at the Geneva negotiations, were carried prominently in newspapers and on television.

But Hajric conceded in a statement read to reporters that Lord Owen, the representative of the European Community, "in fact said nothing of the kind."

"Although this was not intended to be portrayed as a direct quotation from Lord Owen, unfortunately it was taken as such," Hajric said.

"I therefore withdraw my statement of yesterday and offer my sincere apologies to Lord Owen."

War Crimes Commission To Exhume Mass Grave in Vukovar

AU0109161093 Paris AFP in English 1544 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] GENEVA, Sept 1 (AFP)—A UN commission investigating war crimes in the former Yugoslavia will begin exhuming bodies from a mass grave in Vukovar this October, the vice-president of the commission said Wednesday [1 September].

Tirkel Opsahl said the commission, set up in 1992 by the UN Security Council, had raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions to undertake missions like the one in Vukovar, a region in eastern Croatia occupied by the Serbs.

Opsahl said the Netherlands had agreed to provide an escort of 40 soldiers to Vukovar after several other governments declined.

He said excavating the grave, which contains the remains of 200 patients and workers from a Croat hospital that fell to the Serbs in 1991, would take about six weeks.

He said similar mass graves have been identified in 98 other regions in the former Yugoslavia but "investigating such a number of mass graves is not feasible."

The commission has plans to investigate only "if there is the conviction that people have been killed and buried contrary to the provisions of humanitarian law," Opsahl said.

The commission, which is to submit its preliminary report to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, is also investigating up to 400 cases of rape, Opsahl said.

He said a team of experts headed to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo Wednesday to investigate the Serb siege of the city. The team is then to travel until September 12 to other areas of Bosnia, as well as Zagreb and Belgrade.

Opsahl said the commission had also received allegations that leaders of Bosnia's three warring factions meeting in Geneva on a proposed peace plan were responsible for war crimes and human rights abuses.

But he added "we have allegations, yes, evidence, no."

Butrus-Ghali, Woerner Discuss Troops for Bosnia

AU0109121893 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Geneva, Sept 1 (AFP)—Butrus-Ghali said his talks with Woerner were "very constructive and positive" but neither would answer any questions or give details of the planned implementation force for Bosnia.

The two also discussed the possibility of air strikes which NATO has agreed to carry out if necessary to lift the Serb siege of Sarajevo and other Moslem areas and to force the Serbs into making peace.

Woerner reiterated that before any action is undertaken, "The final say will be with the secretary general of the United Nations."

Ikonomov Ends Visit to Yugoslavia, Returns

AU0109165293 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Bosilegrad, September 1 (BTA)—Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonomov ended his visit to Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia late last night. The last place he visited was Bosilegrad, one of the major centres of the Bulgarian minority in the western outlands (a formerly Bulgarian region annexed to Serbia at the beginning of this century). This is the first visit to the region by a senior Bulgarian Government official in 73 years.

In Bosilegrad Mr. Ikonomov met representatives of the Pcin, District (the administrative centre of the region) and the Municipal Council of Bosilegrad, and had a separate meeting with the Head Committee of the Democratic Party of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia. No reporters were admitted to the meetings at the request of the hosts and Mr. Ikonomov.

Later on Mr. Ikonomov told the press he was pleased with the meetings which helped him familiarize himself with the situation in the region. He stressed the Bulgarian minority in eastern Serbia should not be a problem in bilateral relations but a bridge between two very close spiritual communities and peoples. The Bulgarians' minority rights should be equal to those of the other minorities in the former Yugoslavia and should meet international standards, Mr. Ikonomov said. Bulgaria's future attitude to Serbia will depend on the approach of the Serbian authorities to these rights, he said. Mr. Ikonomov denied reports in Belgrade newspapers that he had been pleased with the authorities' treatment of the Bulgarian minority so far. He did not deny that the district and the municipal authorities in the region on the one hand, and the representatives of the Democratic Party of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia on the other, differed in their views on the situation of Bulgarians in Serbia.

Neev Resigns as Energy Industry Committee Chairman

AU0209105693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Report by Kalina Stancheva from Council of Ministers building in Sofia—live]

[Excerpt] A few minutes ago I managed to meet Neycho Neev, who did not take part in today's cabinet session. He confirmed that he has resigned as acting chairman of the Committee for the Energy Industry and that it was very likely that he would submit his resignation today as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

However, Neev said that, after consulting the prime minister—because in the final analysis the issue concerns the National Assembly—if a decision is reached on his resignation, he will give a news conference to explain all his reasons for his decision. For the time being, Neev was only willing to give one of his reasons: his unwillingness to take part in—and I quote—the ruinous economic policy, not of the present government, but as personified by three members of the cabinet with connections to a small party that happens to be in power. I am the first member of the government in at least the last 50 years to resign because of disagreement with a policy being followed, Neycho Neev said. However, I am bound to make the reservation. Neev stressed in our conversation, that I will have to consider my decision again and ask the prime minister for his view. [passage omitted]

SDS Council Discusses Parliament Strategy

AU3108172693 Sofia BTA in English 1608 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Sofia, August 31 (BTA)—"The balance of the past year is unfavourable for Bulgaria," Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), said at the union's first press conference after the summer holidays today. The supreme leadership of the coalition, which lost power at the end of 1992, held a session this morning to discuss the political situation and the policy of the SDS in parliament which resumes its work tomorrow.

The activities of the government of Prof. Lyuben Berov, elected in late 1992, were described as abounding in gaffes and failures. The SDS expressed concern over the state of the municipalities which have limited budgets. Speaking of yesterday's statement by President Zhelyu Zhelev that the SDS is to blame for its fall from power and deterioration into a secondary political force, Filip Dimitrov said: "Zhelyu Zhelev's actions show lack of any readiness for reappraisal." In a special declaration of the union read at today's press conference it is pointed out that "the SDS is still the major political force in this country and is ready to prove this at the forthcoming parliamentary elections when it will once again take over the government of this country." The declaration also says that the union, which won the parliamentary elections in October 1991, was removed from power by backstage machinations with the participation of Zhelyu Zhelev himself. The declaration says that contrary to the expectations of the SDS that Zhelyu Zhelev would hold a press conference to criticize Berov's cabinet, just like last year (when the president criticized before journalists the government of Filip Dimitrov), his main target was the union. "Zhelyu Zhelev is incapable of reappraising his treacherous act," the declaration reads.

Filip Dimitrov confirmed the readiness of the SDS to implement the resolutions of its Fifth National Conference (March 1993) when it declared itself for holding early elections. This statement was prompted by recent appeals in the press for establishing contacts for the former parliamentary ally of the SDS—the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), saying that it is possible to form a new government with the participation of the SDS. "The SDS has no such plans and if

these ideas stem from circles of the union, they will be regarded as activities aimed against its interests," Mr. Filip Dimitrov said.

At its session today the supreme leadership of the SDS decided to freeze the membership of the Liberal Congress Party because of its allegations that SDS floor leader Stefan Savov was an agent of the totalitarian secret police.

Commentator Doubts Debt Conversion Project

AU0109110393 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28-29 Aug 93 p 6

[Commentary by Nikolay Zhukov: "Bad or Good Wishes"]

[Text] The naivete of Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov is amazing, and perhaps even intentional. He hopes to clear the bad credits granted to the debtor enterprises prior to 31 December 1990 by converting them into bonds for sale on the market. However, no one is certain that any impoverished Bulgarian will be inclined to purchase them with his good money set aside for a rainy day, in the hope of becoming rich.

According to the minister, the potential bond holder will be lured by the right to receive a 30-percent discount when the plants and installations earmarked for privatization are put up for sale. The holder will be able to receive a share valued at 13,000 leva for a bond with a nominal value of 10,000 leva.

Aleksandrov has even devised how the bonds are to be sold. The banks can offer them directly, or through fund exchanges and brokering houses. They will also receive the right to sell them at a discount, for example, for 8,000 instead of 10,000 leva. Nonetheless, one can foresee that the state will exercise control and may well ask questions as to why one firm is selling them below the nominal price, while another is not.

However, the finance minister's project fails to provide any answer to the question of who will buy shares in, let us say, the Kremikovtsi plant, that fossilized mastodon of socialist industry, rather than, for example, the profitable Khimimport concern.

Even the treatises in the political economy of the socialist era pointed out that shares in profitable enterprises provide good dividends, while inefficient firms go bankrupt together with their owners.

Klaus Discusses Intelligence Reorganization

AU0209072993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 30 Aug 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jiri Leschtina; place and date not given: "A Reduction of the Secret Service Is Necessary"]

[Text] Prague—Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who is also the coordinator of secret services, proclaimed last week that the intelligence service must be given a "Czech dimension." We asked him the following questions:

[Leschtina] How do you think the intelligence operation can be simplified and made more efficient, and how strong are your thoughts on making the Security Information Service and the other intelligence bodies more open effected by the "Wallis" case and the so-called rum scandal?

[Klaus] It is imperative that the megalomaniac ideas of some intelligence service chiefs and deputy chiefs who would like to build these institutions according to the U.S., British, or German models be abandoned. We are not a world power but rather a country with a population of 10 million, and this must be reflected in the structure of the intelligence service. The rather bombastic concept of these institutions is also a remnant of the post-November "Dienstbierean" foreign policy, when Czechs wanted to act as a bridge connecting the East and the West and deal with problems that belong to the world powers.

[Leschtina] What, do you believe, should be the concern of the secret service, so that our immediate security is not jeopardized, and what should they avoid?

[Klaus] The natural setting for our life is Central Europe, and it is this territory that must interest us from a security point of view. I am taken aback when I hear that our intelligence service intends to study the potential destabilization tendencies of Islamic fundamentalism. I do not underestimate this phenomenon. I do not rule out that some time in the future, the Islamic world could become a European problem, but it will never become a problem of just the Czech Republic's, which could not deal with it by itself anyway. Furthermore, this is not the only megalomaniac ambition in our secret service.

[Leschtina] Do you have any specific ideas regarding the reduction of the secret service?

[Klaus] In the services oriented abroad, I see the core of rationalization in the transfer of numerous operations in the form of standard political analysis to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Military intelligence must be confined to strictly army matters. Finally, even in the internal security services, it is possible to transfer many projects to ordinary security police.

[Leschtina] Such austere interventions will aggravate many secret service employees who are influential and often have a political backing. Are you not at all afraid that these people would launch another disinformation scandal of the Wallis type?

[Klaus] Certainly. As prime minister, I face a dilemma. Is it better to jump in head first and experience and survive a few Wallis-type scandals or rather to go on spending millions and let these people work in the service? I unequivocally favor the first alternative.

[Leschtina] Can society learn to absorb such shocks without it being considerably destabilized?

[Klaus] I spent my holiday in Italy, and if you read the local papers there, full of scandals and murders or suicides of politicians, you get the feeling that this society is literally on its last leg. Nevertheless, there is summer in Italy, red wine, and afternoon siestas, and the country is not crumpling. The citizens certainly pay attention to these scandals but not more than scandals deserve. Hence, despite tremendous political earthquakes, Italy has remained a stable democracy ever since the fall of Mussolini.

[Leschtina] It was precisely in Italy that you first received the news of the Wallis scandal, in which you, yourself, became a target of disinformation and gossip. How did you take it?

[Klaus] If you receive, while on holiday, faxes with questions on whether it is or is not necessary to return and explain the circumstances of the scandal to the people, it does not exactly make your day. A politician must be tough, however, and have a large dose of resistance to such attacks and campaigns. If a politician were not able to face such occurrences, then how could he ask it from his fellow citizens?

[Leschtina] Nevertheless, I feel that, upon your return, you responded to the Wallis affair more irritably than usual.

[Klaus] I do not know whether it is so. When nothing but the Wallis scandal is discussed for 50 minutes at the first press conference after your return from holiday and the questions are repetitive, you answer the 48th question more irritably than the 15th.

[Leschtina] Are you really of the opinion that the summer scandals were played up by correspondents?

[Klaus] There is certainly a tremendous disproportion between the first impulse and the secondary reverberation it incited in the papers. Precisely in the Wallis case, the echo spread much faster and reached much larger dimensions than what we are used to here. No, it definitely was not a standard response of the media.

[Leschtina] Certain individuals in the media might intentionally blow up certain incidents. The real source of scandals is, however, chaos in the intelligence institutions, the rivalry between its factions. Can something be done about it?

[Klaus] If the Coordination Council manages to put the aforementioned organizational measures through, it should, in the end, subdue the situation in the secret service. Even the best system, however, cannot prevent incidents with people like Mr. Wallis, who decide to foist disinformation on the media. There simply is no society that can adequately protect itself against these types of individuals.

[Leschtina] Is it not rather late to begin dealing with these dark problems now? It seems that you decided to resort to stronger measures only after experiencing the Wallis scandal.

[Klaus] That just seems so. First, I had to grasp the core of the problem, orientate myself in the complex relations, and then by a pure mental process formulate precise conclusions, dispositions, or demands for the legislation. Nevertheless, I have presented the first outline of my ideas regarding the reorganization of the intelligence service at the council session that convened before the summer recess. There is even a hypothesis that it was my strong involvement in the council that contributed to the eruption of the holiday scandals.

[Leschtina] Do you intend to remain in the post of chairman of the council for secret services or do you believe it expedient to create in the government a special post of a coordinator for these issues?

[Klaus] It would be futile to establish a specific ministry for secret services on the government level, especially since they will be reduced. I would like to find a suitable person, however, who would act as an executive secretary of the council.

Zieleniec Discusses Topical Policy Issues

AU0209110793 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 30 Aug 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Martin Schmarz; place and date not given: "'There Is Always Something for Something in Diplomacy'"]

[Text] CESKY DENIK carried an interview with Josef Zieleniec a few days ago that dealt exclusively with his position as Civic Democratic Party deputy chairman. No reference was made to his activity as foreign minister. We are now rectifying this imbalance.

[Schmarz] Certain differences of opinion between yourself and the prime minister were a topic of much discussion recently in the press. Apparently, you even threatened Vaclav Klaus with your resignation, which—it goes without saying—the prime minister rejected. Nevertheless, from your point of view, how serious are these differences?

[Zieleniec] Naturally, I did not submit my resignation. When a new state is created, new constitutional practices are established and it takes a while for the division of labor between individual constitutional officials to stabilize. The prime minister and foreign minister, who both have foreign policy issues within their jurisdiction, are no exception. It follows, from the different roles played by the prime minister and foreign minister, that they have disparate views on many issues. However, I would like to point out that this still does not mean we have diverse views on foreign policy. We are just gradually seeking a procedure for its outward formulation and articulation. A proposal is now being drawn up to establish a council for foreign policy where, apart from the prime minister and foreign minister, ministers involved in foreign activity and some other constitutional officials will be represented. This council could discuss—in a somewhat less formal atmosphere than the government—certain conceptual foreign policy issues, and I believe it will lead to the creation of a more consistent image of our foreign policy abroad, which is extremely important.

[Schmarz] Is this how you intend to comply with the Civic Democratic Alliance's [ODA] demand for a coalition discussion on foreign policy?

[Zieleniec] Yes. My experience in discussing foreign policy openly and directly is generally good. Then it becomes obvious that the interparty differences are not so terrible and, after all the points of view have been put forward, there is a considerable rapprochement of opinion. You know my deputy Mr. Bratinka, who is responsible in the ODA for foreign policy. I believe that a spirit of objectivity and agreement prevails in the ministry. Of course, the composition of the council for foreign policy would be according to government posts, but they are—by coincidence—so well distributed that it would be like a discussion within the coalition.

[Schmarz] You mentioned Mr. Bratinka. He was the very person who recently complained that the prime minister is not giving enough support to our endeavor to become a non-permanent member of the Security Council. In your opinion, does the issue here involve a foreign policy priority or not?

[Zieleniec] This is an important issue, although not a vital one. It is, in its own way, a sports competition. Of course, it would be splendid if we could become a non-permanent member of the Security Council. It would be an opportunity for our new state—which is introducing itself to the international community—to present itself abroad and to "show the flag" as the British say. Last, but not least, we would also have an influence—though just for a limited period—on international events; this means a greater opportunity to highlight our problems to others. There is always something for something in foreign policy. If someone wants to influence our conduct in this or that way, then—of course—he will also have to bear in mind our problems. These are important issues, but as I said, it is not a vital issue; therefore, we are also not giving a great deal of publicity to this campaign.

[Schmarz] Hungarian Prime Minister Antall was rather indignant recently about the statement made by Vaclav Klaus on the issue of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and on minorities in general. What is the current state of relations between Prague and Budapest?

[Zieleniec] I think this was more of a flash in the pan than a manifestation of something permanent. Relations between Hungary and the Czech Republic are good; there are no more serious problems between us, and there are many areas in which our views are even identical. We have to understand that we are a new state and that everyone is now trying—at the onset of our policy—to push it somewhere and to make use of the fact that we have just arrived on the scene. Later, when our views are already known and our policy is generally accepted, pressures and attempts of all kinds will cease.

[Schmarz] The Slovak Government recently approved an amendment to the Czech-Slovak treaty on the movement of foreigners from third countries across the common border, but it made its signing subject to a technical agreement. Are you able to say when you will sign this amendment?

[Zieleniec] In these issues I have grown unaccustomed to guessing the appropriate dates. The fact that the Slovak Government has associated the signing of this amendment with a technical agreement presents a problem. It is a little unexpected for me, because this amendment was merely declarative; it was an expression of our will to settle relations on the border. On the other hand, we are still negotiating intensely. The era of spectacular meetings is over and normal foreign policy activity has started. I often speak on the telephone with Slovak Foreign Minister Moravcik. Interior Minister Ruml recently negotiated with his counterpart, Mr. Tuchyna, on the technical conditions for the border regime. This matter is—perhaps—close to being signed.

[Schmarz] Are you not concerned that the negotiations could become unglued because of these "technical conditions"?

[Zieleniec] The problem of the negotiations becoming unglued is a relative one. According to all our customs, laws, and treaties with Slovakia, we can patrol the border ourselves. However, it would be better—not only from the practical point of view, but also from the point of view of good relations with Slovakia—if a mutual agreement could be reached on this. But, in the end, the starting point is here, and the Slovak side is aware of it.

[Schmarz] Do you think that, if the negotiations with Slovakia break down, the readmission treaty with Germany might be signed earlier?

[Zieleniec] First and foremost, we must exercise control over the movement of foreigners across our territory. Whether this takes place in cooperation with Slovakia or on our own is another matter. Then it is possible to sign a treaty.

[Schmarz] It is known that Bonn exerted some pressure on Bratislava for it to accede to negotiations with the Czech Republic. Slovakia, because it has not yet concluded readmission agreements with all its neighbors, is in the same situation we were in when Germany tightened its asylum laws. Is the possibility being taken into consideration that Czech diplomacy could help Bratislava put the finishing touches to these treaties?

[Zieleniec] Not only is this being taken into consideration, but we are very active in this regard. This issue involves not only specific treaties, but the general atmosphere in Europe and the stances of individual states toward controlling illegal migration. We are negotiating with the governments of individual countries and also with those who are neighboring countries from the point of view of Slovakia. I think that this progress, which has been noted, has been made due to the fact that we are showing an interest in it.

[Schmarz] Do you think migration should be dealt with at such bilateral talks between individual governments or at a pan-European conference?

[Zieleniec] These are issues that do not mutually exclude each other. The first solution will probably be on a bilateral basis. It is already close. In my opinion however, it will involve taking the first step toward a pan-European convention that will have to resolve these issues, because it is not only an matter of controlling movement. The issue also involves not blocking the way to people seeking political asylum. It is necessary to weigh up these two factors: The danger arising from the threat of instability in individual states due to illegal migration and observing the values on which our state is based—one of them is the right to political asylum. The Czech Republic is today very much indebted to the stance of western states which, during the past 40 years, have accepted our political exiles. These people are now returning, and you know how important they are for us. I think we would be a different country if we had not had political exile during the communist dictatorship. This is the debt we have to the states now seeking freedom. If we are talking about migration waves, illegal migration, and so on, we must bear this in mind, and I think the international convention that will seek a common European solution will have to take these two issues into consideration and find a balance between them.

[Schmarz] Possible negotiations with the Sudeten Germans make a certain part of our public nervous. In the current situation, has the establishment of a coalition group for conducting a dialogue with the Sudeten Germans not been placed "on ice"?

[Zieleniec] Even in your question you differentiated between "negotiations" and "dialogue." This is indeed a fundamental difference. A dialogue is in fact already underway—between our citizens, intellectuals, representatives of the academic community, and so on. It is very important for us to find a balance between the past and the future.

We should make a point of trying to turn our backs on the past. I know this is difficult and it is understandably difficult for the Germans also. The two sides have perhaps different reasons for this. I think it is very important for the future of Czech-German relations that both our citizens and German citizens understand this and realize that we have a great responsibility, because our conduct will have repercussions for many future generations. Therefore, we have to seek a means of continuing this process.

[Schmarz] You said that a dialogue is taking place between the citizens of the two countries. What is the situation with regard to the dialogue between the two sides?

[Zieleniec] I think that, following the aggressive course of the recent Sudeten German Days, it is up to the Sudeten German representatives to show that this was more of a display of excess than a permanent tendency. Then we will see.

[Schmarz] Do you think the Sudeten German issue could, to a certain extent, disappear the moment we are accepted into the EC where there is free movement of citizens?

[Zieleniec] This problem in relations between the two nations will not disappear by anyone being accepted anywhere. It will be a problem between us, because we experienced the past together and we will live beside each other in the future.

ODS Resolution on Restitution of Church Property

AU0109195393 Prague CTK in English 1737 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Kopanky, south Moravia, August 28 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) believes church property restitution should be approached above all with the interests of the populace in mind, according to a resolution passed at today's session of the party's Executive Committee.

The resolution sees the question as concerning not the restitution of property, but of putting right property injustices. ODS suggests that only that property be dealt with which is demonstrably in the hands of the state. Restitution of other property should take place through the usual legislative channels.

The resolution rejects the vetting of all legal documents relating to the transfer of expropriated church property between 1948 and 1989. It would lead to the broadening of the circle of liable persons, and the removal of old injustices would lead to new ones, it says.

ODS believes that former church property owned by a district should only be given up with the agreement of the district. As far as movable property is concerned, it agrees with the transfer of religious icons and objects with a cultural value. However, it does not agree with the return of what is called economic property, since ODS considers the church as an ordinary legal person when it comes to economic property.

The resolution says that buildings can be given up if the user's right is preserved, so that the continuity of social, health and similar services may be kept up. The state will provide such activities with a state grant. The Executive Council does not agree that the right to any sort of compensation for unsurrendered property should issue directly from the law.

Klaus Comments

AU0109195493 Prague CTK in English 2041 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Text] Kopanky, south Moravia (CTK)—Where restitution of property is concerned, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) wants to find the best possible solution for all citizens of the Czech Republic, not just a narrowly defined and limited group, ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus told journalists today at the end of the second day of the party's Executive Committee session, with reference to the returning of church property.

He expressed the belief that the governing coalition would find a consensus on the restoration of church property, adding that some parties were aiming to maximize the amount of property returned.

What this or that party says was not the subject of our discussions, and our standpoints are clear and accommodating. Thus it should be in the interests of our partners to approve the law on the redressing of property wrongs. Otherwise a situation might arise which would be unpleasant for the church and believers, if it was to be said that the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) were blocking the approval of this reasonable and compromise law, Klaus said.

At the session, the council also agreed that the internal reform of state administration should be launched promptly. The administration's operation had to be rationalized in a way which would profit citizens, not certain political parties or groupings, Klaus said.

The ODS favored a greater number of territorial and administrative units in the Czech Republic. It did not oppose decentralization, but it believed that the basic unit of the administration should be the community. We are ready to transfer further powers to villages and towns as quickly as possible, Klaus said.

He added that the ODS recommended that the number of members of local councils be limited, not only because it was more economical, but also to prevent the emergence of new quasi-parliaments, loaded with politics, which might tend to impair the stability of the Czech Republic's political system.

The Executive Council also dealt with the preparation of local elections planned for 1994. The council's deputy

chairman Josef Zieleniec said that even people who were not ODS members, but only sympathizers, might appear on the lists of ODS candidates for the elections.

Environment Fund Lacks Money for Projects

AU2708155193 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 26 Aug 93 p 3

[Article by David Cap: "The Environment Fund Has No Money for Projects"]

[Text] The State Environment Fund will collect 800 million korunas [Kc] from large and medium-sized polluters in fees for releasing harmful substances into the air. This sum would not be enough even to pay for just one separator of harmful substances in a thermal power station.

The level of the fees was determined by the law of 1991. Released poisonous substances are divided into three main groups, according to the degree of danger. For instance, in the first group there is asbestos, benzene, biphenyl, mercury, and cadmium, in the second, fluorine, chlorine, and phenol, and in the third, there is ammonia, acetone, and toluene. The fee for releasing one tonne of these substances amounts to Kc20,000 in the first group, Kc10,000 in the second, and Kc1,000 in the third. The polluters pay, however, only 30 percent of this sum, since the said law on atmosphere states that, in order to alleviate the impact on enterprises, the full amount of these fees will begin to be collected as late as in 1997.

Apart from money collected on fees for polluting, there is additional income to this fund, which are the fees for releasing waste water into surface waters, fees for storing waste material, levies for drawing on underground water supplies, and levies for taking over agricultural soil. Moreover, the fund receives one half of each fine administered by the Environment Inspection (the other half goes to the community). Last year, the fund received a donation from the U.S. Government amounting to Kc275 million.

The State Environment fund was established on 1 January 1992, and it has received 1,200 applications for the support of ecological projects since then. A thirteen-member council of the fund makes decisions on these applications. The council is composed of Parliament deputies and the representatives of ministries. The council has rejected 332 applications, since they did not meet the criteria of the fund. The remaining applications were handed over to the minister of environment, who is the administrator of the fund, and personally decides on each project. As of today, he has approved 328 of them. The fund provides, above all, loans to applicants, and it can also provide subsidies. Their number is declining, however, and only communities can be awarded subsidies.

The greatest number of applications are for projects for the protection of the cleanliness of surface waters. According to Engineer J. Nevyjel, the fund economist, this is because the level of fees for polluting waters makes it advantageous for the enterprises—those enterprises that intend to stay here for more than five years—to build a waste-water cleaning plant.

The half-year report on the economy of the fund states that the amount needed to support approved projects is Kc19.4 billion. The application for the contribution from the state budget should be discussed at the Finance Ministry today.

A list of the principal payers of fees for releasing substances into the air.

Company	Fee
Chemopetrol Litvinov	Kc40,000,000
Trinec Ironworks	Kc29,000,000
Chvaletice Power Station	Kc26,000,000
Ledvice Power Station	Kc19,000,000
Tisova Power Station	Kc17,500,000
Komorany Power Station	Kc17,000,000
Poldi Kladno	Kc7,000,000
Kaucuk Kralupy	Kc7,000,000

Note: Data are given for this year, that is, they represent 30 percent of the calculated sum.

Croatia-Bound Explosives, Rocket Fuel Intercepted

AU0109160293 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Aug 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "Tonnes of Explosives for Zagreb; Dangerous Truck in the Hands of Slovak Customs Authorities"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Jaroslav Ivor, director of the Office of Investigations of the Slovak Interior Ministry's Police Corps, announced yesterday that criminal proceedings have been initiated against an employee of the WIBRA Ltd. company, who was detained on Thursday [26 August] during a customs inspection because, instead of plastic molds and Synalod 80, as stated in the customs declaration, he was taking across the border 5,000 kg of flaked [supinkovy] trinitrotoluene and 13,759 pieces of nitroglycerine nitrocellulose jelly, which serves as solid fuel for military rockets.

According to the customs declaration, the goods were destined for a customer in Zagreb (Croatia). The investigator of the [Bratislava] Municipal Office of Investigations of the Slovak Police Corps initiated criminal proceedings and, at the same time, brought charges against the employee, who is a citizen of the former Yugoslavia.

The origin of the intercepted merchandise, as well as its route to the territory of the Slovak Republic, are under further investigation.

Prime Minister Meciar Discusses Privatization

LD2908213793 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1710 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Weekly nationwide television address by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening dear fellow citizens: Privatization has become the idea and term which accompanies us almost every day. We analyze whether it proceeds well or badly, we assess our chances and possibilities. This is logical. Once in every 100 years a situation occurs of the kind we have today, namely that the state places a great deal of property into private hands. Naturally, this process is inevitably objective. When the state had virtually everything—enterprises, businesses, the commercial and banking sector—everything belonged to everyone, but in fact to no one.

If enterprises capable of carrying out business in the new market conditions arise, they must have real property in their hands, real capital, they must be realistically structured so that they are capable, through their actions, not only of acquiring rights, duties, and making pledges, but also of being independent in the true sense of the word. That is why the path of creating such enterprises has been embarked on, and one of these paths is privatization. [passage omitted]

The second wave of privatization is under way. Property to the value of almost 200 billion korunas [Sk] will be divided, I repeat, almost Sk200 billion. It is a tremendous opportunity for all those who are interested in gaining this property, who are interested in becoming owners or businessmen or, via ownership, becoming administrators of their businesses or other organizations. Naturally, the entire procedure must be readjusted. That is why a new law will be passed, and during the procedure we should take care, above all, to make sure that things are well arranged, that the public have the opportunity to verify what is happening in each enterprise, what projects are being prepared, what proposals are being tabled, whether they suit the individual companies.

Furthermore, we are concerned that all citizens be involved in this process—we mean it literally if we say "all"—all those who are old enough to have the chance to implement property rights. There are many possibilities on how to achieve this. Many citizens agree, but say that they have no capital and therefore cannot take part. In order to meet them half way, the National Bank of Slovakia will grant special funding purely for privatization purposes.

We will also make privatization possible by the price being paid off from future profits. This is the so-called leasing method, but not a pure leasing method because interest will not have to be paid if a substantial amount is invested and new job opportunities are created. In other words, this is an opportunity for everyone to directly enter this process, whether with their own money or borrowed money. To stand aside means to miss the bus and it will not return.

There are several possibilities and methods available for joining this privatization process. These methods include coupon privatization, privatization by means of employees' shares, joint stock companies owned by employees, sale to an a priori appointed entity and a tender [verejna sutaz]. [passage omitted]

Coupon privatization will continue. We expect that property worth some Sk50-70 billion will undergo this type of privatization. [passage omitted]

Privatization through employees' joint stock companies is a great opportunity. In practical terms this will mean that employees of a certain company will create a partnership [obchodna spolocnost], they will become shareholders in this partnership, and will, in fact, buy the factory from the state. [passage omitted]

Privatization by means of employees' shares is different. The shares usually amount to five percent of the company's property and are sold to the employees for less than to non-employees. [passage omitted]

In a tender, several entities compete for best conditions. [passage omitted] When speaking about tenders, we have to watch for competition from the West. There is an

interest in Slovakia, even though it is not very clear initially. [sentence as heard]

There will be a clash of two interests. One will be our own effort to create a strong domestic capital layer at home and to create the middle layer of society as a social phenomenon. The other interest will be embodied in our efforts to gain access to financial resources. We will offer property for privatization wherever we lack finance for our own development, and where we need to obtain financial means from outside. In such instances we will offer a part of the property. We will offer a part of the property in instances where investment and know-how are needed. We will offer a part of the property wherever we need to obtain access to markets. [passage omitted] However, in some instances we will make attractive offers even when we need certain amounts of money to provide the impetus for development. This is not a sell-out. It is not what many of you may think. This is a process involving change in ownership relations and a process that has to acquire international dimensions. [passage omitted]

A priority of appointed companies interested in buying a company will be an exception and will be approved by the government. [passage omitted]

Official Reveals Opposition to Nuclear Tests

AU3108105693 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Aug 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "We Reject Nuclear Tests"]

[Text] "The Slovak Republic is interested in maintaining world peace, in finding a peaceful solution to disputes, and in eliminating military conflicts and flash points." This statement was made yesterday by Emil Kuchar, director of the Foreign Ministry's Analysis and Planning Department. According to him, Slovakia's acceptance as a member of the UN Conference on Disarmament will be of great significance to the republic. Our foreign policy will thus contribute to a constructive solution to the issue of transparency in armament, a ban on nuclear tests, and the drafting of legal regulations for security guarantees in the event that nuclear weapons are used against a state that does not have such weapons.

SZS Opposes Government Energy Plan

LD3108135293 Prague CTK in English 1250 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava, August 31 (CTK)—The Slovak Green Party (SZS) said today that an energy plan recently adopted by government is at best informational news on the state of the energy sector, and that it expects an actual, serious plan to be put forward.

The government's plan does not, the SZS states, reflect the principles of least cost planning or environmental impact assessment. The emphasis on building new power plants shows the continuation of extensive development in energy.

On the topic of the government's energy sector privatisation and restructuring plan, the SZS pointed out that it was against the proposal to leave the Kosice, East Slovakia, heating utility under state control, and added that it considered this circumventing local self-government.

KDH: Government May Try To Bypass Parliament

AU3008200593 Prague CTK in English 1423 GMT 26 Aug 93

[Text] Bratislava, August 26 (CTK)— Slovakia will continue going to seed because the minority government cannot pass vital legislation in parliament, Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), declared at a KDH press conference today.

Vice Chairman Frantisek Miklosko claimed it was possible the government may simply try to circumvent parliament.

Indiscretion characterizes Premier Vladimir Meciar's government, in Miklosko's view. He referred to the premature disclosure of the government's intention to recall Slovakia's ambassador to Austria, Rudolf Filkus. It was often a bone of contention in the former Public Against Violence movement (VPN). Meciar would say something on the radio and we would be forced to respond afterwards, he said.

Carnogursky additionally mentioned the removal of bilingual road signs in ethnically mixed communities in southern Slovakia which has raised a storm of protest from the Hungarian minority. The problem should, in his view, be approached principally from a political standpoint, because a solution needed to be found soon.

Antall Receives Swedish Prime Minister

LD0109142793 Budapest MTI in English 1328 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met with his Swedish counterpart Carl Bildt, who is also president of the International Democratic Union (IDU), in Budapest on Wednesday.

The prime ministers took a highly positive view on bilateral links. They noted that about 20 per cent of two-way trade came from industrial cooperation and joint ventures, which indicated a high level of cooperation.

Antall outlined future opportunities to boost business ties.

Both sides paid particular attention to the region's security and common foreign policy interests, while Antall spoke on the importance of NATO and of the principles on which it was based.

They both regarded the Balkans and the Baltic states as the most critical zones in the region and stressed that European integration was vital for the region's security.

They also discussed problems in handling south Slav refugees from the political and humanitarian points of view, as well as the situation of ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina.

Antall Says NATO Survival Guarantees Peace

LD0109211793 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—"European integration is inconceivable without the trans-Atlantic concept. The coexistence of North America and Europe is an indispensable part not only of world peace, but of the survival of democratic order as well."

"We therefore consider the trans-Atlantic concept and the survival of NATO to be equal to the idea of European integration, a thought of outstanding importance," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), said on Wednesday, addressing the session of the Executive Committee of the International Democratic Union (IDU).

The survival of NATO is the most important guarantee of peace and security, and formulating the organization's new role is the basic task of our age, Antall added.

He went on to note that NATO's borders should be expanded and IDU should set out from the fact that European integration must be intensified in the direction of the trans-Atlantic concept.

Antall said Hungary is filled with fear at the prospect that some sort of economic, welfare iron curtain will be built in place of the former military iron curtain, as this would in turn destabilize European security.

All Hungarian efforts are aimed at transforming the central and eastern European region in a genuinely democratic manner.

"I make no secret of the fact that extremely great danger could threaten our country and our region, but I can correctly add that, inasmuch as we are unable to solve these issues, they pose a danger for the entire world." The prime minister recalled that two world wars had started from the Balkan and Baltic regions.

According to Antall, the Baltic region could become a critical point in the coming decades, which is why assisting Russian reform forces and the independence of the successor states of the former Soviet Union is indispensible.

Jeszenszky Interviewed on EDU Conference

AU0109183493 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 93 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Geza Jeszenszky: European Politics That Preserve the Values"]

[Text] All those political forces that played a role in the change of the regime tried to build up their international contacts. At that moment, it seems that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] was most successful at this. It has been a full member of the European Democratic Union [EDU] for more than three years, Party Chairman Jozsef Antall is a deputy chairman of the EDU, and nine months before the Hungarian elections, the EDU, an international cooperation organization of the European Christian Democratic and Conservative political movements, is holding its most important conference in Hungary. We interviewed Geza Jeszenszky on the reasons for this.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Is this the result of a fortunate coincidence or of conscious efforts?

[Jeszenszky] At the time when the Antall-led MDF was still in opposition, it made contact with the EDU because the EDU's goals formulated in its founding Kleissheim Statement, the programs and history of its member parties, and the activities of its prominent personalities corresponded to the goals and intentions of the Hungarian center right—including that of the MDF. The cooperation that followed the initial contact made it possible to establish the current international relationships and its utilization in the country's interest.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What characterizes the EDU's relations with the eastern European countries that have been freed from communism?

[Jeszenszky] The EDU soon realized that it also bore responsibility for the situation of central and eastern

European countries and that it had to support their democrats. This could be one of the reasons that Jozsef Antall, the chairman of the MDF, which was the first party to be accepted by the EDU from our region, was at the same time elected as deputy chairman of the EDU. The fact that the EDU summit is being held outside Western Europe for the first time can also be attributed to the common success of the [Hungarian] government coalition, which consists of parties that have in the meantime also joined the EDU.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What are the most important areas of cooperation between the coalition parties and the EDU and its member parties, in which these parties can pass on the largest amount of information to us?

[Jeszenszky] The Christian Democratic and Conservative parties that formed the EDU in 1978 drew up the program of European unification. Britain's Churchill, Germany's Adenauer and Erhard, France's Schuman, and even De Gaulle himself, and Italy's De Gaspari were members of these. These European Christian Democratic and Conservative politicians, those who adhere to the preservation of values, had a full vision of Europe that also included our region. They thought in terms of a full and joint program of integration. Unfortunately, the Soviet occupation and the communist dictatorship did not make it possible for us to join them from the beginning. It is also noteworthy that, almost without exception, Christian Democratic and Conservative parties led the reconstruction and implemented, where it was necessary, the change of the regime in the European countries after World War II. It was the European center right that prevented the strengthening communist movements from gaining power after the war; this was a real danger, for example, in France and Italy. The European Conservatives and Christian Democrats drew up and implemented the model of social market economy that places the understanding and solution of the citizens' everyday problems to the fore. When we formulated the MDF's program in 1988 and 1989, we made use of the experiences of these political parties, combining them with the liberal and populist-national political tradition of the Hungarian nation. It was already clear to us then that a balanced center right political force in the European sense with international contacts has the best chance of drawing up and implementing the political, economic, and social change of the regime in Hungary and the other countries of the region. In this sense, the MDF does not want anything radically new. Essentially, it wants to implement the modernization in Hungary that has already been successfully implemented by its European sister-movements. This successful work in itself is a guarantee for us. Unfortunately, today it is more difficult to receive broad social support for this than our Western European friends received a few decades ago. Nevertheless, the EDU's common experience also applies to Hungary: Only a full-scale and unbroken center-right modernization program can show a successful way out of the totalitarian systems that brought economic and social disaster. This took more than four years wherever it was implemented.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In addition to foreign policy and security issues, the EDU's expert committees also deal with environmental protection issues and with support for the domestic political activities of its members. According to some views, political forces that advocate a market economy cannot at the same time include environmental protection in their programs. Is there a real contradiction in the EDU's work in this sense?

[Jeszenszky] Not in my view. A few decades ago, left-wing movements seemed to discover a similar contradiction between social welfare and a successful market economy. It was precisely the European Christian democracy that convinced Europe and the world that the opposite of this was true, leaving the purely liberal political thinkers far behind. Only backward or demagogic politicians raise this issue in places where all this is not so well known.

It was only later, when the establishment of the welfare market economy was well advanced in the developed European countries, that the world recognized that environmental protection and the preservation of nature are one of the key problems of our age. The first newly born environmental protection movements still formulated their programs in opposition to the existing political forces, often against the European center right, sometimes in conjunction with the left. These concealed the responsible attitude that was widespread on this issue among Christian Democratic and Conservative movements. Now it has become obvious that no one has found the only true solution for the protection of nature and the environment, and all political movements bear joint responsibility for this. This is reflected in the fact that one of the EDU's four working committees suggests that a common European strategy be drawn up for the protection of the environment and nature. The MDF's experts regularly participate in the activities of this working group.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] The issue of national minorities is important for Hungary. What does or what can the EDU do on this issue?

[Jeszenszky] Following a Hungarian initiative, the EDU has formed ad hoc working committees to study this issue. At the same time, it is awaiting the membership of national minority political organizations that hold similar views to those of the EDU. This is how the South Tirolean People's Party became an EDU member and how the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Hungarian] and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement of Slovakia have also been included in the EDU's work, with the support of the MDF.

Csurka Gives Position After Szarszo Meeting

AU0109173493 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Sep 93 p 5

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, chairman of the Hungarian Way Movement, by Istvan Joo; place and date not given: "Pozsgay and Csurka Are Still Following Different Roads—Bitter Restart"]

[Text] The Szarszo gathering has ended and parliament has become busy again. We interviewed Istvan Csurka, founder of the Hungarian Way, on how things will be different from now on.

[Joo] In your view, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has been destroyed. Do you expect a more effective popular-national unity after the Szarszo initiative that was above parties?

[Csurka] I was expelled from the MDF. The whole [Prime Minister] Antall leadership of the MDF is against me. I have had time to become certain, albeit a little late, that I cannot fulfill political goals there anymore. In addition to this, it has been filled with people who had once opposed it, and it cannot be turned back to its original spirit and unique mission. This party has been made definitely suitable for a pact and humble toward liberalism. The Hungarian Way Movement started from this bitterness. Further links and setting up further camps was also needed. It would indeed be good if there was a big structure similar to the MDF that included everything. However, it does not exist and this is the tragedy because something has been lost. A new start with a smaller basis is very difficult. However, if we do not take this step, then we will not salvage anything from below the ruins.

[Joo] What changes do you think are possible in the domestic party system?

[Csurka] The appearance of the Hungarian Way and the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIET] on the scene has already caused radical changes. The cooperation of the liberal parties with the MDF, as well as with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], is already visible. I hope that this multiparty cooperation will not last long, and I cannot imagine the Christian Democratic People's Party joining this line. However, these parties are jointly considering how to suppress us. The amendment of the parliamentary rules, which is currently being discussed, is a good example of this. Its goal is to stop the MIEP deputy group, which is being formed just now, from receiving the rights of a parliamentary group and to reduce its chances at the elections.

[Joo] Would your parliamentary group not be weakened more if, as rumor has it, Gyula Zacsek, Istvan Balas, and Gyorgy Szilasy established a different party?

[Csurka] I only heard about these suggestions from the newspapers and from friends. I find the establishment of all new parties on the national side tragic because it would only favor the opposite side. Hopefully they will change their mind.

[Joo] Is Imre Pozsgay [chairman of the National Democratic Federation] closer to you at the moment than [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur and Tibor Zimanyi, your former colleagues in the MDF?

[Csurka] Naturally, not in their personality, but on the basis of their political behavior, they are further away than Pozsgay. However, it is too early to talk about cooperation with him. The only certain thing is that we were both present as two determining forces at Balatonszarszo.

[Joo] In addition to the worries over the real national issues of vital importance, did bitter feelings and unfulfilled ambitions also play a role in Szarszo?

[Csurka] Snake charmers and exhibitionist people can always appear in such a big mass, but very few of these were present in Szarszo. I have not found any bitter people in Szarszo in the political sense. This also shows the loftiness of the gathering. No other force exists in the country that could have formulated its views more wisely on issues including anything from agriculture to openness. The fact that the level of speeches was also high is no wonder, especially if we consider that the current level is very low in Hungary.

[Joo] How would a possible Szarszo election alliance be linked to the strongly controversial election policy ("examination of being Hungarian") that had been advocated by the Hungarian Way?

[Csurka] The only certainty is that the Hungarian Way Movement and MIET will have a prior agreement on the candidates and, naturally, the support of other national forces might also be considered. However, Hungarian political life is confused and it is very difficult to talk about actual alliances at the moment.

Socialist Leader on Relations With Neighbors

LD2908174393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1702 GMT 29 Aug 93

[Text] Novi Sad, Aug 29 (TANJUG)—Gyula Horn, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party and president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament, said that Budapest should not dwell on a revision of borders but on obtaining international guarantees for the collective and individual rights of the Hungarian minority in neighbouring countries.

In an interview published on Sunday in the MAGYAR SZO daily of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia, Horn urged a historic agreement between Hungary and its neighbours and promotion of bilateral relations.

At the invitation of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, Horn recently toured the ethnically-mixed northern Serbian province of Vojvodina which

has a 340,000-strong Hungarian community. Ethnic Hungarians account for over 17 percent of Vojvodina's overall population.

Horn maintains that Budapest should do its best to avoid any tension in relations with its southern neighbour, the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, that is, to refrain from taking part in any military action in former Yugoslavia.

Fuzessy on Neighboring Countries' Intelligence Activity

AU0109183893 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Sep 93 p 5

[Interview with Tibor Fuzessy, minister without portfolio in charge of the secret services, by "N.E."; place and date not given: "I Cannot Inform All the Deputies"]

[Text] At the Hungarian Parliament session on 30 August, Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, parliamentary deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and deputy chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, criticized the statements made by Tibor Fuzessy, minister in charge of national security, at the political symposium held in Szarszo recently—namely that the main task of the neighboring countries' secret services is to discredit the Hungarian minorities living there and that their activity is directed against Hungary's alleged efforts for territorial integration.

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi demanded that the National Security Committee, the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Human Rights Committee should examine the bases of this declaration. We first asked Tibor Fuzessy whether he spoke as a politician or a minister in Szarszo.

[Fuzessy] No one participated as a minister in Szarszo. I participated in this forum as a politician at the invitation of the Puski family, whom I highly regard.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] As a politician, you can say things that you know as minister in charge of the secret services?

[Fuzessy] I did not speak about things that any other politician could not learn about. For example, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus recently declared that the Czech counterintelligence services were concentrating their forces on Central Europe, a region that clearly includes Hungary. I could also quote articles dealing with the fact that the Hungarian minority is an important area of the internal security sections of the neighboring countries' intelligence services. However, there was a point in my saying at the meeting that "I would not get into any trap." I think that one of the goals of Istvan Szent-Ivanyi's remarks was to force me into a defensive position in which I start providing concrete elements about the generalities described at Szarszo, and I might then really say a few things known only to a minister.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In your response, you also said that you would be ready to support your statements at a parliamentary committee meeting.

[Fuzessy] There is no need for my willingness if I have to appear before a committee. If they invite me, I must go there, but I do not think that any parliamentary committee seriously thought that they should question me on concrete things in connection with this affair. Both I and the secret services appear before the National Security Committee every six months. Besides, given the fortunate relations of confidence with the committee, we have been providing in-depth information about the activity of the secret services. If they invite me, I will naturally provide details about this. However, I think that, due to the shortcomings of the law on the legal status of the parliamentary deputies, I cannot inform every deputy in detail because, on the basis of the aforementioned law, the deputies cannot be called to account for violating state and service secrets.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What reactions could your speech at Szarszo elicit in the neighboring countries?

[Fuzessy] If it gets to the Hungarians living beyond our borders, it will at least strengthen their awareness that we see the processes under way there and we follow their fate with attention. As for the secret services there, they know their own goals and, obviously, they will not get mad because someone realizes and describes these goals. It is possible that some indignant articles will appear but not more than until now. I am an "enthusiastic" reader of the anti-Hungarian articles published in the neighboring countries. I think that these articles are published, irrespective of whether I say something or not.

Government Plans Extra Support for Agriculture

LD0109123393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] About half as much grain was produced this year than is customary in good years. At the Budapest exhibition center today a national conference began on grain production. Our reporter is Judit Laszlo:

[Laszlo] Before we demonstrate at Kossuth, said Agriculture Minister Janos Szabo, referring to a possible protest by interests representing bodies from the agricultural sector, we have to recognize that agriculture also carries the inheritance of socialism, the loss of the eastern markets, poverty in the sector. During the past five years there has been a shortfall of 50-60 billion forints [Ft] of investment in the agricultural sector. So in the next few years there will be a need for Ft200-240 billion to enable the sector to function. Only about one-third of this is available from internal sources, we will have to obtain the remainder from foreign loans, the minister said. He added that in next year's budget the agricultural sector will have priority, because if parliament accepts this in 1994, Ft55 billion will be allocated to agriculture.

Balazs Botos, state secretary at the Ministry of Finance, talked about specific government plans to assist the agricultural sector. The Ministry of Finance is recommending the consideration of what proportion of privatization revenue should be used for the purposes of the agricultural development fund or the establishment of the still missing agricultural credits institute. The establishment of the banking network in the countryside is in progress and there is also discussion of setting up a special agricultural insurance system which would assist disaster struck areas—this was heard in the opening speeches of the meeting.

Finance Ministry Report on 1992 State Budget

LD0209095293 Budapest MTI in English 0809 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian state budget closed 1992 with a deficit of HUF [Hungarian forints] 197.14 billion. Revenues were somewhat higher than HUF 992.49 billion, expenditures totalled 1189.637 billion (USD 1 = approx. HUF 95), runs a report issued by the Hungarian Ministry of Finance on the implementation of the 1992 state budget.

The originally planned 1992 budget deficit was HUF 69.7 billion. However, as processes during the year did not develop according to the forecasts, parliament was forced to amend the budget law.

The government originally expected that economic decline would stop, that the growth in GDP [Gross Domestic Product] would reach 0-2 per cent, with consumption of the population also increasing by 0.5-1 per cent, and national economic investments by 2-4 per cent. As against this, the GDP declined by 5 per cent last year, and consumption by the population by 2-3 per cent.

As the effect of the above, income processes came about in the budget which significantly differed from the planned. Compared to the forecast, income generation was about HUF 200 billion under the mark, which compelled the financial government to prepare a supplementary budget.

A large-scale rise in the deficit was unavoidable, due to the major losses in income. In 1992, the budget deficit totalled 7 per cent of the GDP, rising from 4.9 per cent of the GDP in 1991, when the deficit totalled HUF 114.2 billion.

According to the report, the debt service and interest expenditures of the central budget rose in a greater degree, by HUF 83.5 billion, than other expenditures in 1992, and totalled HUF 190.5 billion.

Suchocka Meets With Kohl in Budapest

LD0209124193 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Report from Budapest by correspondent Tadeusz Olszanski]

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka met with FRG Chancellor Kohl in Budapest today. One hour before the opening of the conference of leaders of Christian Democratic and Conservative parties belonging to the European Democratic Union [EDU], a conversation lasting over half an hour was held between the heads of the Polish and German governments in the government residence in Buda.

In a brief statement for Polish journalists issued after the talks Chancellor Kohl said that, without meddling in Polish internal affairs, Germany is still interested in the continuing process of reforms in our country so that when the Maastricht Treaty has been ratified by all EC countries, Poland can also become a member.

The chancellor also said that at the NATO summit in January new strategic aims of this treaty will be established. At the same summit the justified wishes and demands of several countries, Poland included, to join the treaty will be considered.

Chancellor Kohl expressed his satisfaction with the course of talks between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Polish President Lech Walesa. He asserted that everything that was said in Warsaw during that meeting is important.

Premier Suchocka revealed that talks with Chancellor Kohl focussed on both internal and international matters but especially on the opening of Western markets to Polish goods. Although the EC countries have been going through a structural recession recently many aspects are now pointing out that it is coming to an end and that new perspectives for an economic boom will appear.

Premier Hanna Suchocka, as a special guest, took part in the opening ceremony of the EDU conference in which delegations from 46 parties and many prominent politicians, including as many as 13 premiers, deputy premiers, and presidents from European states have been participating.

During this report the second bilateral meeting between Hanna Suchocka and Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall is nearing its end.

Returns From Conference

LD0209143093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has returned to Poland from the European Democratic Union conference in Budapest.

At Okecie Airport she told journalists that in the talks in Budapest FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl confirmed that during the summit meeting of NATO countries in January the issue of Poland's, as well as other members' of the Visegrad Group [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland], request to join the treaty will be considered. The prime minister also said that Chancellor Kohl and other Western politicians, such as Carl Bildt and Jacques Chirac, declared their full support for the present course of transformations taking place in Poland.

Russians Vacate Airfield in Legnica

LD0109194793 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Legnica, Sept. 1—The Russian authorities officially handed over a military airfield to the local authorities of Legnica on Wednesday [1 September] after 48 years during which it was used exclusively by the Soviet and later Russian Air Forces, Antoni Golab of the Legnica governor's office said.

The local government in Legnica is now working on a modernization project for the airfield which they want to be converted into a passenger and cargo airport.

Local authorities expect that some of the facilities in the area which are still in Russian hands will be left to them before the end of September, this year.

Negotiator Says Technical Issues Agreed With London Club

LD0109125293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1100 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] A Polish plenipotentiary for negotiations with the London Club let it be known today that a Polish delegation has reached agreement with London Club experts regarding technical issues connected with the reduction of our debt. According to Krzysztof Krowacki, while there are still differences of opinion, they no longer exist with regard to technical issues. Poland's proposal to the London Club provides for a 50 percent reduction of our debt. Commercial banks, however, are ready to agree to 28 percent reduction.

Commentator Analyzes Support for Postcommunist Left

AU0109174593 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Commentary by Ryszard Holzer: "A Mistake?"]

[Text] A few weeks before the parliamentary elections, the postcommunist SLD's [Democratic Left Alliance] ranking is increasingly higher. This is despite the fact that the Suslov commission documents—documents that would in theory compromise the heirs of the Polish

United Workers Party—have been made public. At the same time, as the polls show, public opinion is taking an increasingly negative view of August 1981.

To understand this phenomenon, one has to go back to the years following martial law. December 1981 strengthened the "Solidarity" legend. In June 1989, the electorate cast its votes for the old "Solidarity"—a social movement faithful to the vision of social solidarity, according to which class differences were to be subordinated to acting for the common good.

However, during the 1980's enormous changes occurred in the mentality of the opposition intellectual elites. Seeing the collapse of the communist economic on the one hand and a fascination with the neoliberalism of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan on the other hand meant that the vision of building a society based on solidarity was replaced by the vision of building capitalism, and rapacious, competitive capitalism at that.

As a result, although the "Solidarity people" were the same, they were not quite the same people. Society cast its votes for what it wanted before December 1981, an improved form of socialism. Instead of that, they received a free market and shock therapy.

Perhaps that course was the fastest and most profitable one from the economic point of view. However, if public awareness has not matured enough to be ready for that path—the elections will show whether it is—then in a few weeks' time we will return to where we started.

Solidarity Deems Bank Policy 'Economic Sabotage'

WS0209094293 Warsaw GAZETA in Polish 27 Aug 93

[From GAZETA, Item No. 422 (487); received via Internet on-line service: "Solidarity: Polish National Bank is Sabotaging Economy"]

[Text] According to "Solidarity," the policy of the Polish National Bank smacks of economic sabotage. The 8-percent devaluation of the zloty in relation to the dollar announced Thursday night [26 August] is a step in the right direction, but it is too little, too late.

In foreign currency exchange units in Warsaw, the average exchange rate for the dollar on Friday morning was around 19,500 zlotys, which is about 200 zlotys less than the new, official exchange rate, but during the day the dollar slowly went up. There was no increased business. According to an expert of the "Mazowsze" region of Solidarity Dariusz Grabowski, an insufficient dollar exchange rate threatens domestic production. True, according to official data it has been growing, but Grabowski points out that despite that, exports have been falling, as have worker incomes, all of which means that state income is being eroded by the "grey area" and does not constitute any real growth in gross national product.

Solidarity is afraid that another rapid devaluation may be necessary this year, especially if additional measures are not taken by the Polish National Bank, such as lowering interest rates on credits and introducing wide-scale investment benefits, just as Solidarity is suggesting in its economic election program. Grabowski and [Mazowsze] region chief Maciej Jankowski have both referred to this program as antirecessional, emphasizing that it links wages with productivity and that it includes realistic suggestions for fighting unemployment.

Vacaroiu Receives Moldovan Prime Minister

AU0209055693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/9/93—Wednesday, 1 September the premier of the Republic of Moldova, Andrei Sangheli, arrived in Bucharest for talks with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu of Romania.

The Prime Minister of Romania Nicolae Vacaroiu and the Moldovan Premier Andrei Sangheli signed during their meeting Wednesday, 1 September at the Victoria Palace, several documents: an agreement for a long-term loan to Moldova, a protocol on allocations from the Romanian Government's Moldova fund for 1993, the agreement for the conversion into a long-term state credit of the non-refunded share of the Romanian 1991 technical credit to Moldova, and the protocol on fuel and mineral oil deliveries as quota of the emergency aid granted by Romania to the Republic of Moldova.

After the signing Wednesday, 1 September at the Victoria Palace in Bucharest of several agreements, the Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu told the press:

"All the actions agreed upon now are to be translated into fact in the following days. We are aware of the difficulties of this transition period, but we are glad to have been able to do things with our own forces, and especially by cooperation, and hope to be able to complete our actions. It is a period that gives us the opportunity to intensify our cooperation and to put in place all the mechanisms apt to accelerate the economic, cultural integration of Romania and the Republic of Moldova."

Premier Sangheli, in his turn, thanking for the help rendered by the government of Romania, said: "Practically, these are the first agreements signed by the governments of Romania and Moldova, by which they take concrete steps towards economic cooperation between the two countries. He added that the agreements are extremely welcome for Moldova in such a critical moment."

Parliament Holds First Autumn Ordinary Session

AU0109193893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1656 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/9/1993—Romania's Senate opened its autumn session Wednesday, September 1. The president of this chamber announced the agenda, which includes the demise of Senators Vasile Vacaru (Social Democracy Party of Romania) and Karoly Ferenc Szabo (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania) from all parliamentary commissions other than that for control of the Romanian Intelligence Service, the creation of parliamentary groups for the present session and the election of the vice-presidents, secretaries and quaestors that will make up the Senate's Standing Bureau.

Two bills were scheduled for debate on September 1, one on damage caused by deforestation and the other on insurance. The Standing Commissions and the new standing bureau were scheduled to hold proceedings on September 1, in the afternoon.

The Chamber of Deputies started Wednesday, September 1 discussions over a bill concerning the composition of the parliamentary groups. The bill provides an interdiction on the deputies' migration from one group to another as well as on formation of groups by parties that did not win seats in elections. The bill was the result of negotiations the same day by the leaders of the parliamentary groups.

Standing Bureau Members Elected

AU0109194093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] The first day of the Romanian Senate ordinary session was devoted to establishing parliamentary groups and the Standing Bureau of this chamber. Although the session was initially scheduled to last until 1400, because of some misunderstanding on certain procedural aspects, the proceedings of the plenary session continued into the afternoon, when the new composition of the Standing Bureau of the Senate was elected.

The new Bureau consists of: Vice presidents: Doru Ioan Taracila, the Social Democracy Group; Ioan Lup, National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]; Eugen Dijmarescu, Democratic Party (National Salvation Front); and Ioan Joarza, Romanian National Unity Party.

Secretaries: Mihai Matetovici, Social Democracy Group; Voicu Glodean, PNTCD; Gabor Kozsokar, Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania; and Corneliu Vadim Tudor, National Bloc.

Quaestors: Constantin Sava, Social Democracy Group; and Emil Negrutiu, Party of Civic Alliance.

Tomorrow, the Senate will resume proceedings at 0830.

Ministry Protests Ethnic Hungarians' Letter

LD0109180493 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] [Announcer] The Romanian Foreign Ministry is objecting to the fact that the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania has sent documents to Council of Europe officials concerning the admission of Romania. Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest.

[Bogdan] At his press briefing today, Romanian Foreign Affairs spokesman Mircea Gioana accused the representative organ of ethnic Hungarians in Romania of, at the very least, not showing any interest in the condition of the country's legal system or the observance of European standards regulating minority rights. Since the authors of

the two documents are governed by political goals, they are specifically coming forward against a clause in the Constitution that lays down Romania as being a nation-state they considered unacceptable, and they wanted to have the Hungarian minority acknowledged as a constituent part of the nation. Unfortunately, the foreign affairs spokesman, maybe due to the inaccuracy of the translation, used the word state-founding here, which may provide an opportunity for creating further misunderstandings and influence public opinion [hangulatkeltes].

He then added: Considering the severity of the allegations, other authorities' reactions cannot be excluded either. Incidentally, in connection with the two documents, Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu turned to Mrs. Lalumiere and Gunnar Janson [names as heard] in a special letter, said Foreign Ministry spokesman Gioana, who finally confirmed that Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Geza Jeszenszky would visit Bucharest in September.

Defense Industry Employees Threaten Strike

AU3108142993 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 26 Aug 93 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Trade Unions Ask for the Reactivation of the Arms Manufacturing Enterprises"]

[Text] The lack of responsibility shown by those in charge of special production in our country has led to complaints by the trade unions within the Military Technology Public Corporation about the social problems faced by the personnel employed at all levels in this sphere of activity. In this respect, our editorial desk has received the following protest note sent by the "22 December" Free Trade Union to the president, the government, and the Management Council of the Tohan Zarnesti Mechanical Enterprises:

In view of the continuous decline in the activity of our enterprise, generated by the lack of purchase orders in the special sector and also by the lack of involvement of several people directly responsible for the activity of the defense industry, the "22 December" Free Trade Union of the employees in the Tohan Zarnesti Mechanical Enterprise sees fit to present a last public protest to those in power in Romania. We are all aware that the diminution of activity in the defense sector is mainly due to certain international conventions that Romania has also signed, as well as to the lack of funds in the state budget. But the fate of employees, who are working in this enterprise, cannot be allowed to drift because our condition as employees was laid down by the need of the country and was correlated with precise laws governing our entire activity. We believe that it is important to mention that until 1989, our enterprise, which is the biggest of its kind in Romania, had made a major contribution to the payment of Romania's foreign debts and, currently, the lack of interest shown toward us is in contradiction with the desire for assistance that any representative of the authorities should and must display toward us.

Returning to Note No.5 of 11 January 1993, which we sent to the same authorities, we continue to believe that it is necessary for them to initiate a debate with all those that are directly responsible for the activity of our enterprise, a debate that should be aimed at devising a plan to extract us, as well as the defense industry in general, out of crisis. One should not forget the assistance granted so far to protect the labor force in the defense industry, by applying Law 37-1992 and Law 14-1993 respectively, but the effect of those laws was zero because they did nothing apart from stress the incompetence of those who should have pulled the defense industry out of the deadlock. In order to attenuate the effects of the action that limits activity in our enterprise, as mentioned at the beginning of our protest, the "22 December" Free Trade Union believes that the following measures should be discussed:

1. The assumption of responsibility for the defense industry (by the Supreme Defense Council, the president, the government, parliament, and others).

2. To define the position of the government regarding the statute of the enterprises within the defense industry, following Government Decision 266-1993. We believe that it is necessary to grant the status of a private corporation to each enterprise and the right to free association.

3. Competent bodies should examine those units earmarked for the defense industry and take into consideration the country's defense requirements.

4. On the basis of this examination, the labor force should be restructured, taking into consideration all the factors that are involved in this.

5. In accordance with the specific nature of each enterprise and with its technological means, ways should be found to incorporate our labor force into civilian economic activity, and the management of each enterprise should participate in this process;

6. Investment funds from the state budget should be granted for the transformation process in cases where this is imminent.

7. A law on the defense industry should be passed in view of the newly created conditions, which have put both Law 14-1973 and the Decision of the Council of Ministers 01550-1973 out of line with reality.

8. We believe that the issues raised by any law to protect the labor force in our enterprises should be previously discussed with the trade unions.

Our protest and our future actions are motivated also by the fact that the establishment of the enterprise in the town of Zarnesti has made it impossible to establish

other enterprises that could have absorbed the manpower that has become available. This protest is meant to be a final one and should lead to the start of a dialogue with those in power.

If, by 15 September 1993, all the problems listed in our protest are not negotiated, the "22 December" Trade Union of the employees in the Tohan-Zarnesti Mechanical Enterprise will officially begin a collective labor conflict, including strike action, as a last resort in the trade union struggle.

Coposu Interviewed on Bilingual Issue

AU0109174693 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Aug 93 p 2

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party president, by Corina Dragotescu; place and date not given: "An Irresponsible and Unsubstantiated Statement"]

[Text] [Dragotescu] What is your opinion regarding the communique released by [National Romanian Unity Party President Gheorghe] Funar [on 25 August, threatening to have Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and President Ion Iliescu deposed if they do not bar proposal suggesting bilingual inscriptions in areas populated by ethnic minorities]?

[Coposu] I think it is an irresponsible and unsubstantiated statement. This is a minor issue; therefore, it does not lie within the competence of Parliament, not even with the government but rather that of the local administrations. I also find Funar's menacing with a no-confidence motion absurd. The National Romanian Unity Party [PUNR] simply cannot introduce any such motion in Parliament because they would need the support of a number of other parliamentarians as well, whom they do not control. I think that his statement is just another attempt in this endless quest to destabilize the country and divert Parliament's attention to minor issues and waste time that should be used to develop laws.

[Dragotescu] Do you think that relations among the parties in the ruling coalition will be affected in any way?

[Coposu] I do not know. I have little interest in those relations. Besides, the whole thing might also be a plot. By now we are already used to such diversions that actually serve the government by diverting the attention of public opinion from major issues and focusing on totally unimportant things.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 2 September

WA0209172693

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian peace talks collapse in Geneva ... Tudjman, Milosevic, other leaders react to Izetbegovic's demands ... Croatian Government representatives, Bosnian Serbs agree to continue observing cease-fire ... Sarajevo charges Croatian forces using Muslim civilians as "live shields" ... Croats say Muslims "continuing fierce attacks" on HVO positions ... UNHCR reports continuing ethnic cleansing of Muslims.

DIPLOMATIC

PEACE TALKS COLLAPSE: AFP reports breakdown of Geneva talks after Serbs, Croats refused Bosnian Government's "minimal demands," including Muslim access to Adriatic Sea, more Muslim territory in eastern and northwest Bosnia. Belgrade TV quotes Croatian President Tudjman saying "entire international public" can see Muslims are "obstructing peaceful solution." According to Belgrade Radio, Milosevic pledges Bosnian Serbs will strictly observe cease-fire. TANJUG reports Karadzic willing to observe cease-fire; Karadzic, however, says Serbs will "not renew negotiations about entire package." (AU0109181593, AU0109185293, AU0209094393, LD0209105993, LD0209111793, LD0209110893)

SERBS, CROATS AGREE ON CEASE-FIRE (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb and Croat representatives have agreed to maintain cease-fire "along the frontlines," called on Muslim side to "join in bringing peace." (LD0209110893)

MILITARY

MUSLIM, CROAT FIGHTING REPORTED: Sarajevo Radio alleges Croatian forces using captured Muslim civilians as "live shield" to advance lines in Mostar. Zagreb Radio reports Muslims attacking positions around Novi Travnik and Vitez. (AU0109193293, LD0109155693)

HUMANITARIAN

UNHCR REPORTS ETHNIC CLEANSING (Sarajevo Radio): UNHCR spokesman claims hundreds of Muslims in central Bosnia and Banja Luka still being expelled by Serbs and Croats "every week." (AU0209105893)

Serbs, Croats Agree To Maintain Cease-Fire

LD0209110893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1054 GMT 2 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pale, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb and Croat government representatives have agreed to maintain the cease-fire between their forces along the frontlines.

The delegations of the governments of the Bosnian Serb republic (RS) and of the republic of Herzeg-Bosna, headed by prime ministers Vladimir Lukic and Jadranko Prljic, on Wednesday [1 September] met in Herceg Novi, a resort in the Yugoslav part of the Adriatic coast, to discuss future relations between the two republics within Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We agreed to maintain the cease-fire along our borders, i.e., we are working for a peace, Lukic told TANJUG's correspondent in Pale late Wednesday night.

'These are initial, but real steps, primarily aimed at achieving peace in our territories,' he said and added 'We have also called on the Muslim side to join us in bringing peace to the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

Lukic said an agreement was reached that the Serb authorities help the Croat population in the Serb-controlled territory, and vice versa.

'We also agreed to work out the legislative and legal regulations and achieve cooperation in all fields, from economy to culture,' Lukic explained.

Prljic, who also positively assessed the talks, told the Bosnian Serb republic's television that the talks are 'maybe not such a major step, but are important for the loosening of tensions and hostilities between Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

He underlined that between the two republics peace reigns on most of the frontline. 'I believe that the process is following an objective rate and will lead to results, that is, to the total calming down of the situation along frontlines between the Bosnian Serb and Croat defence lines,' he said.

Economic cooperation between the two republics will precede cooperation in all other fields and represent the quickest way for linking the Serb and Croat peoples in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Prljic said.

Silajdzic Pessimistic About Ending Fighting

AU0209074693 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2022 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Interview with Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Robert Hochner; Silajdzic in the television studio in Geneva—live; Silajdzic statements in English with simultaneous German translation]

[Text] [Hochner] Mr. Foreign Minister, when the negotiations were broken off today, Croatian President Tudjman said that this means that the war will continue. Is this also the view of the Bosnian Government, of the Muslims?

[Silajdzic] Of course not. We have made it very clear that we do not want to continue the war and we are going to be at the disposal of the deputy chairman and the other two sides for negotiations at any time.

[Hochner] One hears that the Bosnian delegation has made demands covering about 4 percent of Bosnia's territory. Is this 4 percent really so essential that today's round of negotiations was permitted to fail?

[Silajdzic] Well, that is the minimum of minimums to make that viable and also to give peace a real chance. We are really entitled to much, much more, because the genocide areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where tens of thousands of people have been killed—200,000 people have been killed, 1 million expelled from their homes—will belong to the perpetrators of these crimes. My question is, can the world, can Europe endorse and reward genocide in this way? We have tried to do our best. We have asked for the minimum of the minimums—for one main reason: to enable at least half a million people to return from elsewhere in Europe to somewhere in Bosnia. Unfortunately, that request, that minimum necessity has been refused. I think we were correct to give this ultimatum.

[Hochner] Serbia's President Milosevic presented himself as a peace lover today. Yesterday, however, he threatened that, if the negotiations failed, the Serbian troops might divide Bosnia in two. Do you see a danger that the Serbs might seek a determination in battle?

[Silajdzic] Of course, they can do that at any time. If they threaten, that is for the whole world to see, because the international community has helped them by placing an embargo on us. So, our hands were tied while we were being killed and expelled. Of course, because of that, because we are defenseless, because we do not have any weapons, they have been able to take a lot of land, to kill a lot of people, and are now in a very strong position to threaten to do more of the same. The most bizarre thing is that the world is watching this. In Roman times, in the arena, when two people fought, at least they gave them both weapons. Now the world is watching Bosnia in this arena. They are watching an unequal fight, and it is most probably going to continue. So, the very dangerous message is: Whoever has tanks, whoever has strong friends on the Security Council, can invade a country, can kill people and get away with it. Bosnia is such an example.

[Hochner] Mr. Silajdzic, thank you very much for this interview and for taking time out for us. Good bye.

[Silajdzic] It was my pleasure.

Abdic Urges Continuation of Peace Negotiations

LD0209010193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2325 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Geneva, September 1 (TANJUG) - Member of the pro-Moslem rump presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina Fikret Abdic said that among the members of this delegation at the Geneva international conference on former Yugoslavia on Wednesday [1 September] the prevailing stand was that the talks should be broken off because the Moslem demands were not being considered.

In view of Abdic, thought to be a moderate Moslem politician and in conflict with Alija Izetbegovic, the situation was most uncertain following the breaking off of the talks and the worst that could happen is that an even more destructive war could ensue.

Strength and wisdom should be found and another effort made to preserve peace and reach successful solution for all three sides and end the negotiating marathon, said Abdic, adding he was leaving for Bihac, a town in northwestern Bosnia, and that he would do all he could for peace to be maintained there.

In Abdic's view, the Bihac region could become a model for the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina as he believes he would be able to reach agreement with the Croatian side to secure loading of goods for the humanitarian corridor and with the Serb side a free passage to the areas in encirclement.

Delic Comments on Geneva Agreement, Mostar

AU0109163493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Sept 93

[Report by Senada Cumurovic on news conference by Rasim Delic, commander of General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—recorded]

[Text] At a news conference in the International Press Center today, Rasim Delic, commander of General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, spoke about the situation on the fronts and the general military and political situation. Senada Cumurovic has the details.

[Cumurovic] Commander Delic said that the situation on the fronts was somewhat quieter, with the exception of the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor continuing his attacks against the Doboj and Tesanj regions, with the goal of taking the [word indistinct] territory of Maglaj, Tesanj, and Doboj. Moreover, he is not giving up his objective of linking communications around the Brcko corridor [words indistinct].

As for the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], attacks against Mostar and Gornji Vakuf are aimed at rounding off the territories which should become the so-called area of Herceg-Bosna. [Words indistinct] Rasim Delic mentioned two problems that are characteristic of the past (?ten days).

[Delic] Expulsions, that is, ethnic cleansing has been intensified in certain areas, particularly the expulsion of the Muslim population. In Bijeljina, for example, only 5 percent of the population is now Muslim. The same applies to Mostar and the Herzegovina region. As an example of this, I want to stress that in the past few days, several thousand refugees have piled into Jablanica. The other (?problem) is the use of civilians as human shields, which is being employed by both the HVO and the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor. The HVO is employing this method constantly in Mostar and on the front around Jablanica, while the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor is employing it on the Doboj front.

[Cumurovic] At the beginning of the news conference Commander Delic commented on the agreement reached in Geneva last night.

[Delic] The agreement reached last night between President Izetbegovic and Karadzic has still not been verified or implemented, at least not the part that would affect the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Words indistinct] attitudes in this respect.

[Cumurovic] In response to a question pertaining to the subject of yesterday's talks with [word indistinct] Petkovic, held at Sarajevo airport, Commander Delic said that it had related to arrangements for the evacuation of wounded members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from Mostar [words indistinct], and HVO members from Bila and Vitez. [Words indistinct] as has been stated in the protest, are bringing in new forces to Mt. Igman, Delic said:

[Delic] I have still not received the UN Protection Forces' [UNPROFOR] protest, but [words indistinct] that UNPROFOR has not secured what he was supposed to, and that is to see that the Serbian aggressor withdraws from Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica, because he should not be on those mountains. As for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, [words indistinct] does not apply to it, and it has stayed in those areas on Mt. Igman that it controlled.

[Cumurovic] As is known, last night at 1800 a cease-fire was due to take effect in Mostar. The agreement on this had been signed between the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO. Commander Delic commented on the effects of the cease-fire so far, and on further measures to be taken in this respect.

[Delic] Mostar is quieter than in recent days. No artillery shells have been observed, and there is only some sporadic small arms fire. Representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the HVO, and General Briquemont met in Medjugorje at 1100 with the goal of securing further implementation of this agreement, and more detailed [words indistinct]. Of course, the focus—as regards the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—will be on

solving the numerous humanitarian problems in Mostar. Issues such as food, water, electricity, the wounded, medicine, and mechanisms for monitoring the cease-fire will be discussed.

Muslims, Croats Agree To Evacuate Croatian Wounded

LD0109160793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Report by correspondent Zdenko Vranjes from Medjugorje]

[Text] The first round of talks between representatives of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Muslim army has ended here at the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] base in Medjugorje. It was agreed at the talks, mediated by General Briquemont, UNPROFOR's commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and by Cedric Thornberry, UNPROFOR's director for civil affairs, that all the wounded from the Franciscan hospital in Nova Bila and from the eastern part of Mostar which is under Muslim control be evacuated at the same time. It was not specified when the evacuation will take place.

According to Ivo Sandrk, who headed the HVO delegation at the talks, the HVO insists that the evacuation should be completed by the day after tomorrow at the latest. All wounded—from Nova Bila and from the part of Mostar which is under Muslim control—will be taken to the American hospital in Zagreb.

The talks will be resumed tomorrow to discuss the exchange of prisoners and the bodies of the dead.

UNHCR Reports 'Continued Ethnic Cleansing'

AU0209105893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Raymond Wilkinson, representative of the UNHCR, today presented data concerning the continued ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The UNHCR representative in this way [words indistinct] that on 24 August a large group of people from Capljina and Stolac was chased toward Dreznice. On 27 August, the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] escorted some 200 Muslim refugees from Capljina, Stolac, and Ljubuski in the direction of Jablanica. Some 200 Muslims, who had been evicted from Prozor, reached Kostajnica on 29 August and a day later a group of 450 prisoners from Gabela and [word indistinct] was also escorted northward.

According to UNHCR reports, the expulsion of Muslims is also continuing in the Banja Luka area. The recent [word indistinct] say that another 6,500 people have been expelled.

It is estimated that approximately 600 people are leaving Bosnia-Herzegovina through private arrangements every week.

'Normal' Relations Reported Between HVO, Army in Tuzla

AU0109202093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Sept 93

[Report by Salih Brkic from Tuzla]

[Text] The military relations between the members of the 2d Corps from Tuzla and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] Bobovac Brigade from Vares are normal, and there are no conflicts between them. On the basis of reconnaissance data stating that the chetniks are concentrating around Vozuca, Nisic, and Okruglica, we have taken some buildings in order to be able to prevent possible attacks by the aggressor in time. These attacks would be similar to those against Novi Seher and Svjetlica.

Therefore, there is no reason for rumors of preparations for an attack against Vares. This is just yet another in the series of propaganda lies perpetuated by the enemy. This is what Ramiz Suvalic, deputy commander of the 2d Corps in Tuzla, said at a news conference. Ramiz Suvalic stressed that rumors of preparations for an attack against Vares were inspired by a recent incident that occurred between members of the 3d Corps from Zenica and the HVO Bobovac Brigade, on the night of 26-27 August in Kopljari. Contact was immediately established and the situation settled down. According to Suvalic, things are moving forward, primarily in regard to solving the functioning of traffic and the passage of goods and people. Namely, after a decision was made in Vares that only HVO vehicles could pass through the town, the 2d Corps Command and the civilian authorities of Tuzla County decided that until this decision was revoked, no one would be able to travel through Vares.

Therefore, either everyone or no one could have free passage. I am convinced that the new demarcation for the zones of responsibility of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Corps will positively influence the solving of the Vares problem. Zubata Ravan, Crna Rijeka, and other peaks are points where our units have contact with the HVO Bobovac Brigade. Since the Tuzla 2d Corps zone of responsibility has now been enlarged in the Vares area, this is the best guarantee of safety for both the citizens of Vares and their soldiers. Of course, since we have information that the chetniks often move across this area, we will not allow any surprises, stressed Ramiz Suvalic, deputy commander of the 2d Corps in Tuzla.

Representatives of the civilian and military structures of Vares and Tuzla and the 2d Corps have recently held meetings. In Tuzla, they are convinced that all misunderstandings will be successfully resolved.

HVO Reportedly Using Civilians as 'Live Shield'

AU0109193293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 1 Sept carries in its regular 37-minute newscast the following reports on the fighting in the Republic.

The studio announcer announces the fighting reports from the various Bosnia-Herzegovina fronts and says that "according to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Press the extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Croatian Army in Mostar, today, used several hundred captured civilians as a live shield in their attempt to move the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's defense line in the center of the city. The civilians carried sandbags and moved toward the positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in groups comprised of about 100 individuals. The members of the 41st Motorized Glorious Brigade fired on the extremists of the HVO and the Croatian Army, who responded by firing at the live shield. According to the 4th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, there are many killed and wounded civilians, who were used in this criminal manner by the HVO and the Croatian extremists, who in this way managed to move the demarcation lines in Santic Street by about 10 meters."

Quoting a report by the 203d Motorized Brigade Doboj-Bosna Press Service, the studio announcer goes on to say that "the free Doboj territory was today exposed to fierce artillery attacks by the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor. The aggressor fired around 55 tank and howitzer shells against this area. The Doboj districts of Matuzici and Mravici sustained severe material damage. The aggressor is preparing for the expulsion of several thousand people from this area."

The Brcko correspondent Hamiz Deronjic reports that "today was an unusually quiet day on the Brcko front. There were only some minor small arms' provocations."

Correspondent Nijaz Banjanovic reports from Zvornik and says that "the shelling went on throughout the day. The aggressor launched three guided Maljutka missiles at Kraljevici from his stronghold on Pecina. There were constant small arms' provocations along the entire length of the defense line. Our soldiers did not respond to the provocations and the defense lines are stable."

Enes Musovic reports from Gorazde and says that "two humanitarian aid convoys have reached the town. This will somewhat alleviate the protracted starvation of the Gorazde citizens." He goes on to say that "the chetniks are continuing their attacks at the free Gorazde territory. Today, artillery attacks from the direction of Foca and Pala were the most frequent, while Chetniks from Rogatica and Ustipraca made their presence known by using antiaircraft machine guns, guns, and small arms."

Nedim Tukic reports on the situation in the Mt. Igman area and says that "since we have been accustomed to almost everyday provocations by the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor, today's calm on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica seems unreal. No movements of the aggressor's forces were registered today."

HVO Reportedly Fires Shell With Chemical Agents

AU0109151293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 1 Sept carries in its regular 31-minute newscast the following two reports updating the fighting in the Republic.

From Olovo, correspondent Velid Djindo reports that "the aggressor" shelled the town on two occasions today. "The first shelling occurred at 0900 and the aggressor used mortars for this. The second time was at (?1150) and the aggressor used tanks and guns. This was supported by antiaircraft and infantry arms in the regions of (?Krusevo), [name indistinct], Grabovica, and (?Jelik). The material damage is great."

From Zenica, Mujo Delibegovic reports that "yesterday, the extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] from Vitez carried out their murderous intentions against the citizens of Zenica with the help of chemical agents. As we have already reported, the 105-mm howitzer shell that was fired yesterday afternoon from the HVO'a artillery stronghold Pjescara near Vitez, which landed on the city center, carried a chemical charge. This was established beyond all doubt by the mixed committee comprised of EC observers and the 3d Corps command. The evidence—breathing difficulties, vomiting, watering eyes—was evident in people who were near the site at the time of the explosion. In addition, the shell jacket exploded in a specific way. Moreover, the appearance of the shell and the characteristic odor at the explosion site all confirm the presence of chemical agents. The 3d Corps command has lodged a sharp protest with the UN Protection Forces (?command) for Bosnia-Herzegovina warning that such attacks would not be tolerated in the future."

Zepce Under Attack; Two Croatian Soldiers Killed

LD0109164893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Muslims have launched a treacherous attack on Croatian Defense Council [HVO] positions near Toline and Debelo Brdo on the Zepce battlefield. The artillery and soldiers of the HVO's 111th Brigade responded adequately. They are firmly in control of their positions, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. Two HVO soldiers have been killed and four wounded. More than 100 howitzer and tanks shells have landed on Zepce and on surrounding villages. Muslims are constantly targeting defense lines with antiaircraft and infantry weapons.

Muslim Attacks on Croatian Positions Reported

LD0109155693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Zdenko Vranjes reports for Croatian radio from Mostar. [passage omitted]

Muslim forces have continued their fierce attacks in the areas of Mt. Crni Vrh and Mt. Zgon between Prozor and Gornji Vakuf [northwest of Mostar]. According to initial reports, there is no peace in central Bosnia today. Muslim forces have continued their fierce attacks on HVO [Croatian Defense Council] positions around Novi Travnik and Vitez.

The HVO has repelled a major Muslim infantry attack on the village of Jardol near Vitez. The attack was launched after several hours of constant shelling of the area. Muslim forces have also launched howitzer and mortar attacks on the Novi Travnik town center and villages around Kresevo and Kiseljak, killing a boy in Novi Travnik and seriously wounding one person in Nova Bila. HVO guns have responded to these artillery attacks, the HVO said today.

UNPROFOR Chief Says Resources 'Inadequate'

PM0209095893 Paris LE FIGARO in French 30 Aug 93 p3

[Interview with General Briquemont, head of UN Protection Forces in Bosnia, by Ariane Quentier in Sarajevo; date not given]

[Text] [Quentier] You have reaffirmed that humanitarian aid is your main objective. What is the position on the opening of humanitarian corridors?

[Briquemont] Progress is being made. Major works have been carried out from Sarajevo, and routes are being reconnoitered in eastern Bosnia. Halting the fighting in Mostar would make it possible to open the Mostar-Sarajevo road to more traffic. I have also asked for reconnaissance missions on some railroad routes. But if the Geneva negotiations were to be delayed once again, it is the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] which would have to provide the main effort to allow the population to get through the winter.

[Quentier] In Mostar, the blue helmets had to wait a week before they were able to take in aid. Why do they not use force to carry out their mission, as stipulated in Resolution 836?

[Briquemont] There is a difference between what is desirable and what is practical, between the resolutions adopted in New York and what we can do on the ground. We were asked to take food to Mostar; Forcing our way in will not solve the problems. Let us be serious, we must be calm and patient, not get agitated, and avoid pointless tragedies. We are now trying to patrol in Mostar.

[Quentier] The Bosnians are demanding that Mostar is included on the list of security areas.

[Briquemont] In the case of agreement in Geneva, Resolution 836 and the security areas will be automatically overtaken. To enable it to be implemented, an additional 7,500 men would be needed. Aside from France, which has sent a battalion of 1,000 men, and Belgium, which is going to send 150 soldiers, I am still short of 6,500 men. Discussions are taking place, there are many promises.... It is easy to adopt a resolution. But there is a huge difference between what I am promised on paper and what I receive on the ground. However, for the past two months, we have been getting by fairly well with resources which really are inadequate.

[Quentier] Lord Owen has requested 40,000 men to guarantee the implementation of the peace plan if it is signed....

[Briquemont] If there is agreement in Geneva, large numbers of men will be needed to guarantee its implementation. For the time being, many nations are reluctant to supply reinforcements in this atmosphere of civil war. The United States is reluctant. If there was a political agreement, the situation would change.

[Quentier] Three hundred Frenchmen are currently guarding Mount Igman, how long will their mission last?

[Briquemont] This solution was laid down to enable President Izetbegovic to return to the negotiating table. If an agreement is reached in Geneva, the mission will end itself. If there is failure, that will present a problem. I am thinking about it a great deal.... But this mission is going better than expected. The French troops are fulfilling it in a remarkable way.

[Quentier] Do you not feel that you are playing into the hands of the Serbs by occupying their positions, while preventing the Bosnians from returning to Mount Igman?

[Briquemont] We took up position on Mount Igman at President Izetbegovic's request. I refuse to allow the UNPROFOR to be accused of playing into Serbian hands. Say what you like, but the Serbs have withdrawn. Anything else is not my problem. We are being asked to monitor an agreement, and that is already difficult enough.

[Quentier] Does the clash which led to the wounding of Captain Jacono change the meaning of the mission on Mount Igman?

[Briquemont] The Bosnian chiefs have admitted that it was one of their men who fired, and that is regrettable. President Izetbegovic himself has admitted that it was unacceptable. But these things can happen. We must then react very firmly. The French unit did so, it responded. Captain Jacono's wounding is a serious matter, but I do not think that an individual incident should change a mission.

[Quentier] There are persistent rumors of a black market within the United Nations....

[Briquemont] Nothing is surprising in such a troubled situation. I was a child during World War II, and there was talk of nothing but the black market. It is impossible to control all individuals, but I cannot accept that UNPROFOR elements should indulge in this kind of activity. I have asked for an inquiry. I do not know the results of it. I want to be sure that the UNPROFOR units are not being wrongly accused.

[Quentier] Is there a difference between your mission and that of Gen. Morillon?

[Briquemont] Gen. Morillon carried out his mission from an exclusively humanitarian viewpoint. He did not face problems like the Mount Igman problem. Or the use of air strikes. At my level, in addition to humanitarian aid, we wanted to give a signal, saying: "Beware, we will now use force." Probably because there was a fear of a further slide toward greater violence. But that will always only be used in self-defense.

Mladic Opens Officers School for 'Professional Army'

AU0109151893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[Text] The most prominent representatives of our people are doing all in their power to solve the war drama that has been imposed on us, and I am convinced that they will succeed. This is what Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, commander of the republic of Srpska army, said today in Banja Luka at the opening of the center of military schools, in which the most outstanding soldiers from the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serbian Krajina will be trained for officers and noncommissioned officers.

The course for noncommissioned officers will be six months , while the one for officers will be 12 months. Mladic stressed that the Serbian people, with the help of friends, would certainly keep their ancestral hearths and, with such an experienced army, would most certainly build a stable state. Banja Luka is a hero city, and that is why this center is in it, Mladic stressed, as are so many heroes of this war, preparing to be officers in the future professional army, as will be formed by the republic of Srpska and the republic of Serbian Krajina.

The ceremony was attended by many Serbian generals and famous commanders. The head of the school center is Major General Slavko Litica.

General Mladic's Armored, Mechanized Unit

93BA1395B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 93 p 16

[Article by Fran Visnar: "The Mockery of 'Shogun' Mladic"]

[Text] The Serbian up-and-down on Igman and Bjelasnica (the Serbs are first withdrawing, and then, there they are again overnight on the heights unfurling their flag once again) represents not only temporizing and a mocking of European political circles, but at the same time it is drawing the attention of professional soldiers, who are above all interested in how Ratko Mladic spent the entire campaign of complete encirclement of Sarajevo. The operation of "pushing the Muslim noses into the mud" is an authentic plan of the Serbian forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina to whose skeleton Mladic added certain of his earlier ideas, which he had not had a chance to carry out in Croatia in 1991.

As soon as they took the strategic Rogoj pass (1,163 meters) and Trnovo, the Serbs had a jumping-off place for further advances. Although the estimates vary as to the number of his soldiers, Ratko Mladic was able in secrecy to separate from the motley army of the "Srpska republic" (90,000 strong) the best personnel (11,000 men), whose combat morale was not uneven.

He established a separate mechanized armored unit (division strength) whose principal intention was markedly offensive. He realigned the troops and furnished them with equipment after the pattern of similar Russian units that operated in the mountain terrains of Afghanistan. He personally picked engineers with experience in erecting fortifications and obstacles, drivers, dragline operators, and experts at earthworks in the forest. In order to master the hilly regions of Visocica, Lelija, and Treskavica and take Bjelasnica and Igman in a lightning advance, Mladic (while fighting) hauled a large amount of heavy equipment to an altitude above 1,000 meters, which obviously was a horrible surprise to the otherwise experienced commanders of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The lightly armed Muslims could not offer organized resistance very long and abandoned one point of defense after another.

Help From the "Gazelles"

In deploying his forces, Mladic this time committed reconnaissance helicopters which he earlier added to his "hill division" and which, as an independent air group, he has been using as necessary without ever asking Banja Luka, Karadzic, or Belgrade. The Gazelle helicopters are light (one of them is Ratko Mladic's personal command platform), which along with classic reconnaissance of the terrain, have also helped in adjustment of cannon-missile fire, so that even the best fortified bunkers of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina quickly gave in to precise and concentrated fire, and Serbian mechanized infantry broke through the first lines of defense on all the hills

indicated in record time. In Sarajevo, they expected that Mladic would need at least a month to take only one hill position of any importance.

After that, along with the tanks, large-caliber artillery, armored personnel carriers, self-propelled artillery, multibarrel rocket launchers, and communications equipment, Mladic hauled Luna 2 surface-to-surface missiles, engineering equipment, and roadbuilding equipment first onto Igman and Bjelasnica, and he concealed the antiair defense on the best-protected peaks. Wherever it was necessary, the Serbian engineers set up automatic flying bridges (Russian Models TMM and MTU) so that the tanks, armored personnel carriers, and missile equipment could cross dry obstacles as wide as 42 meters. Heavy BAT-M bulldozers (Russian origin) speedily built convoy roads; the Muslims realized only on the spot why the Serbs had for weeks been bringing together general-purpose self-propelled draglines (Model E-305 V mounted on a three-axle heavy truck) and devices for shaping roads (the D-144, also of Russian manufacture).

Mladic equipped his foot soldiers with axes and chain saws, so that the clearing of the small woods which stood in the way of his armored convoys could go still faster (the trees were also blown up with explosives). As soon as the Serbs took some high point, along improvised mountain roads they would bring up heavy trench diggers and screen diggers (Models BTM and MDK-2; each vehicle does the work of 300 or 400 men and has a crew of two). Incidentally, for some time before the "clearing" of the hills around Sarajevo began, Muslim scouts were reporting that Serbian trucks and military tractors were pulling not 120-mm cannon and mortars, but light trench diggers (Model PLT-60) and minelayers. Mladic took the greatest benefit from the PMR-3 minelayer on the occupied areas. This tool (strange in shape, similar to the vehicles of the highway warriors in the films about Mad Max) lays 500 mines per hour on level ground; with a side slope up to 10 degrees and climbing (or descending) as much as 15 degrees, the laying rate is 400 mines per hour, and the PMR-3 (again a Russian invention) sows 600 mines per hour on the surface of the ground.

Singing to the UNPROFOR Personnel

When he had mined everything and promised to withdraw, Ratko Mladic gave a special performance to the confused UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] observers: A tour of the torched mountain hotels (in which he offered them "lodging"), telling them along the way that he had not taken his model from the Russians, nor the Americans, nor the Israeli generals, but the Japanese shoguns and their warrior's code, and that his people are the Mongols of the 20th century. In order to prove to them how all of this was a routine operation and to show them the morale of his units, he ordered his men to pass in review. The singing of the Serbs was thunderous as they marched past the blue helmets. Only a few officers of the UNPROFOR realized what they were saying in the most frequent refrain: "There is no army stronger than the chetniks from Manjaca."

The real objectives of Mladic's climb into the hills around Sarajevo are clear. By taking Bjelasnica and Igman, Serbian heavy artillery and surface-to-surface missiles were looking down on Sarajevo from the southwest as well. This blocked the Butmir Airport and threatened Hrasnica, and it cut off the supply route from Sarajevo to Igman and return (Mladic referred to this as "Allah's highway)," and it all means that the Serbs could close the pincer from the south as well and quickly smother the Muslim resistance, using maximum firepower (up to now they have hit Sarajevo "only" with 20 to 40 percent of their equipment). With 91 tanks whose 100- and 125-mm cannon were aimed at the city, with 120 heavy howitzers and cannon, four surface-to-surface rocket launchers, and 12 multibarrel rocket launchers deployed on Igman and Bjelasnica, Mladic could at any time and in just one day open fire and increase total firepower to 80 to 90 percent, killing or wounding another 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants of Sarajevo.

What is more, Mladic's leaping through the mountains had several other effects: This testing of the new unit of the Serbian Army shows that the Serbs are neither fatigued nor overly frightened by the U.S. threats when they deploy their strategic formations without concern under their low-flying planes and undertake military operations on a broad scale which had obviously been prepared for months.

And finally, we should mention an equally important objective of the most recent Serbian offensive: Several military defeats of the already poorly armed Muslim forces should weaken still more Alija Izetbegovic's political system, compromising the entire Muslim leadership which remained in Sarajevo, and deepen the conflict among the Muslims. The sinister statement of "shogun" Ratko Mladic, made at a moment when U.S. and NATO squadrons were flying above his head and the crowns of trees he had not managed to fell, speaks in a brutally sincere way about the ultimate intentions of the Serbian military-political system in Bosnia-Herzegovina after 16 months of what is at the moment the bloodiest war in the world: "The future is decided exclusively on the battlefield (Geneva is only tactics), and the Muslims can choose between surrender and defeat."

Aid to Persecuted Serbs in Tuzla Urged

93BA1377C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 93 p 6

[Article by TANJUG: "The Serbs in Tuzla Are About To Die in Large Numbers"]

[Text] Zvornik, Bijeljina, 7 Aug—As Vojislav Djurkovic, chairman of the civilian section of the Government Commission for Exchange for Semberija, Majevica, and

Posavina, declared today to a correspondent of TANJUG, the Serbs in the region of Tuzla and Banovici have for months now been exposed to the most brutal pogroms and persecutions.

He says that the Serbs are being treated as ethnic hostages and that there is evidence of their unprecedented suffering, because the civilian and military authorities in Tuzla and in Banovici are simply competing with one another in their cruelty toward the Serbian people.

According to Djurkovic, the Serbs from the region of Tuzla are more and more frequently deciding in their desperation to attempt to flee across the minefields. Those few who have managed to cross to Serbian territory in this way are recounting distressing things.

The Serbs are being prevented from obtaining food, even that food which reaches Tuzla across the territory of the Srpska republic in the form of international humanitarian aid.

There are more and more Serbs that are physically and mentally completely exhausted, especially the children, who have also been forced to go hungry, Djurkovic emphasizes.

In addition, he says, more and more often young Serbian men, even boys who are underage, are being forced to go into the front combat lines of Muslim units.

Djurkovic reiterated the appeal to international humanitarian organizations for the most urgent aid to the Serbs, who number more than 18,000 in Tuzla alone.

Increased Electricity Problems in Banja Luka

93BA1377E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 93 p 13

[Article by D. Kecman: "Lights Only Once a Month"]

[Text] Banja Luka, 5 Aug—Representatives of Elektrokrajina in Banja Luka have announced that because of the very low streamflow, electric power production has been reduced to the minimum, and in August the public cannot hope to have even the four hours of lights it has had up to now.

"A better situation with electric power supply can be expected only if there is substantial rainfall and if a long-distance transmission line is built through Posavina to link Semberija and Krajina," the news release states, adding that the long-distance transmission line is now being built.

However, there is reliable information that this is a 110-kv [kilovolt] transmission line, which would bring Krajina only another 50 mW [megawatts]. That gives extremely little and guarantees households in this period of drought only one more four-hour connection a month for sure, perhaps even twice.

All that is known for the present about construction of the 400-kv transmission line is that it is being debated by the government of the Srpska republic, which in the last session of the National Assembly, held in Mrkonjic-Grad, received an ultimatum for power to reach Banja Luka and other cities of Krajina in a month or the government would resign. Construction of this transmission system would permanently solve the power supply problems of Krajina. That is why for days now they have been conducting surveys in the local news media of Banja Luka. The public and fighting men at the front are exerting greater and greater public pressure, they are demanding electricity, at long last after so much time spent in warfare.

One thing is certain: Pressures on the authorities in Pale will grow after this announcement of the Banja Luka Elektroprivreda concerning the situation with electric power supply. The fall and beginning of winter could cause greater tension, even extensive unrest of a political and social nature, it is being warned in Banja Luka. Low pensions, food shortages, extremely low purchasing power, expensive firewood, a city without heat and power could become a city of unrest in the second winter of this war. The government in Pale is sitting this week, and we will see what is decided in connection with electricity in Krajina.

The recent press release of Elektrokrajina also says that power is being cut off even for priority customers. During the night, only the water department and the hospital are supplied just four mW of electric power, and hardly anyone else is supplied.

Tudjman Denounces Muslim Stance at Talks

LD0209121793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1148 GMT 2 Sep 93

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said on his return from Geneva that the irrationality in Moslem policy had won in the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The collapse of the talks was surprising because very important circles at the Geneva conference had been convinced that Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic would agree to the proposed peace agreement, Tudjman told Croatian radio.

"The agreement offered a Moslem republic within the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina both living space and a solution that could have been regarded as satisfactory," he added.

However, the Moslems put forward new conditions in Geneva that could not have been granted by either the Serbs or the Croats, explained Tudjman.

"The Croatian side was even ready to make a certain concession to build a port for the Moslems on the Croatian Adriatic coast, if this proved to be technically and ecogolically feasible.

"We actually made this final concession as a contribution towards peace, so that no one could hold us responsible for the collapse of the conference. But as you see, this irrationality in Moslem policy won," the Croatian president said.

In Geneva, Tudjman also held talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the proposed peace [word indistinct] for Bosnia and normalization of relations between Croatia and the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

The RSK was formed in 1991 in parts of Croatia where Serbs constitute the majority population, in protest against Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation about which its constituent Serb people had not been consulted.

Government Demands Recall of French UN General

AU0109181793 Paris AFP in English 1737 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 1 (AFP)—The Government of Croatia on Wednesday [1 September] sought the recall of French General Bernard Baudot, commander of UN Protection Force troops (UNPROFOR) in southern Croatia, the official news agency Hina reported.

The agency said the request, charging Gen. Baudot with having been "partial" and of having "given offense to Croatia," was carried in a letter to General Jean Cot, the head of all UN forces in former Yugoslavia.

Vladimir Seks, deputy prime minister responsible for relations with UNPROFOR, also alleged that Gen. Baudot had prepared reports that were "not truthful."

He sought the immediate removal of Gen. Baudot from his post and his recall from the Croatian Republic.

RSK Official Says Government Not Ready To Negotiate

LD0109123993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], warned today that "Croatia is undermining the peace process and opts for a new war because it does not want to resume the negotiations on neutral grounds as was agreed in Geneva". He pointed this out in a letter to Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord David Owen, cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, in which he draws their attention to the fact that the Croatian authorities refuse "to hold talks in third countries, and demand that negotiations take place only in Croatia". Jarcevic warns that "Croatia's insistence on the RSK being part of the territory of the Republic of Croatia led to our decision of 16 June and 8 July for delegations to meet on neutral territory".

Serbian Radical Party Files Charges Against Hadzic

LD0109140593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 1 Aug 93

[Text] Vukovar, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The main committee of the Serbian Radical Party in the republic of Serb Krajina today filed charges with the republican public prosecutor against Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, "because of his criminal activities". All documentation substantiating the charges was also submitted to the public prosecutor along with a demand for legal measures to be taken to shed light on criminal actions regardless of the position that its perpetrators hold. With this move, according to Rade Leskovac, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party in the republic of Serb Krajina, the radicals wish to finally crack crime in the republic of Serb Krajina which has been on the increase in recent times.

Krajina Serbs Claim 1,700 Serbs Held in Camp

LD0109123193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Plitvice, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] claims that 1,700 Serbs are being kept in an internment camp on the island of Obonjan near Sibenik. According to the RSK government, the majority of the Serbs comes from the wider area of Rijeka, while there are quite a few children and women among them.

RSK Prime Minister Djordje Bjegovic informed the International Committee of Red Cross, the UN Human Rights Commission and the UNPROFOR Command in Zagreb about their plight. In his letter to the above institutions Bjegovic says that Croatian authorities wish to present the "concentration camp as a refugee camp, although it is an internment camp for the Serbs arrested in the mentioned area."

According to Bjegovic's letter, a certain number of the Serbs from the republic of Srpska are also being interned in the camp. He asked for the mentioned details to be checked up and to be urgently conveyed to the relevant bodies of the United Nations and of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia.

The RSK prime minister wants, the letter says, the interned Serbs released and allowed to move to the town of their own choice and the concentration camp closed down.

Croatia, Krajina Problem To Last 'Endlessly'

93BA1386B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 93 pp 19-21

[Article by Filip Svarm: "100 Years of War"]

[Text] It is hard to say whether the Maslenica crisis has reached its culmination. It is obvious that neither Zagreb nor Knin is ready to give up their maximalist objectives. The final solution—"reestablishment of the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia over its entire territory" or "demarcation between the states of Croatia and Krajina"—can be brought about only by the force of arms. However, numerous obstacles have arisen in front of that option, so dear to the war lords here. The international community is in a hurry to end the war in the former Yugoslavia, so that it is not showing understanding for moves, regardless of how much they are portrayed as the only possible and justified ones, that could set the war ablaze. What is more, both of the belligerents have been left breathless: an exhausted economy, a fatigued population, vast destruction and the prospect of casualties, and the uncertainty of victory in war have had an impact. Although there is no doubt that both Zagreb and Knin favor resumption of war, the question is whether and how they could wage it? Aware of this, the lords of human souls on both sides are burning in their effort not to jeopardize in any way consistent implementation of the national programs with which they have won the hearts of their subjects. That is how they have arrived at a situation best described by the saying that they are both afraid of an empty gun. The only problem in this case is that there is a bayonet on the gun.

The Malcontents

It seemed that the Erdut agreement would at the last moment avoid a new total Serbian-Croatian war. At first, everyone was satisfied. The United Nations because the new escalation of the war had not undermined the negotiations in Geneva. Serbia because it had not spoiled relations with Croatia concerning division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia because the bridge and airport were opened triumphally after so much trouble, and finally, the Knin leaders because withdrawal of the Croatian Army had been announced. Two false witnesses in Geneva—Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic—joined in the universal smiling and backslapping. They judged the agreement to be progress in "normalization of overall Serbian-Croatian relations" and agreed that whoever violated it must bear "full responsibility."

And then things became complicated. Simultaneously, there was the collapse of negotiations between the teams of military experts of Croatia and Krajina in Vienna, and political showdowns in the top leadership of Krajina which have now become traditional in crisis situations. That is, it was immediately clear that the HV [Croatian Army] would not withdraw just like that, without more significant concessions. The pontoon bridge and airport under control of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] were slim satisfaction for the shelling of Zadar and other settlements and the six-month military occupation of some 30 square kilometers taken in January. The triumphant Serbian interpretation of the Erdut agreement—that Croatia had recognized Krajina—because some of the Croatian opposition parties agreed with this, compounded matters still further. Having found itself in a bind, the top Croatian leadership made withdrawal contingent upon a cease-fire and placement of heavy Krajina weapons under control of the UNPROFOR in accordance with Resolution 802 of the UN Security Council. But Knin did not consent—it feels that being left without artillery domination of the Zadar hinterland would allow the Croatian side to use the same formula and acquire territory which Krajina considers to be its own. Likewise, the political gains realized by the Erdut agreement would also come to naught.

However, as a solution to the slaughterhouse of Bosnia and Herzegovina that will suit Zagreb and Belgrade comes into sight, there is less and less prospect of the Krajina people persisting in their objectives. As Belgrade has begun to take its hands away from them, the Knin leaders have slowly been splitting into the obstinate "hawks" and opportunist "doves," which is probably what Dr. Tudjman was referring to when he said that "reason" is on the rise in Krajina. It is in that context that the most recent showdown between the leaders took place, but unlike previous ones, this time it was concocted by Vojvoda Vojislav Seselj. Demands for compromises have been arriving from Belgrade, and so Goran Hadzic, the principal exponent of the president of Serbia, has been under attack. As the tried-and-true principles of the Radicals require, he has been accused of treason, corruption, criminality, and whatever else is required. Just so it is clear to everyone that no relaxation is allowed without a clear gain for Seselj's war lobby, not even if that is the personal desire of Slobodan Milosevic.

Panic

The Croatian Army has not withdrawn from the Zadar hinterland as required by the letter of the Erdut agreement. Accused of a lack of principle and of a willingness to bargain with the territory of the state, Dr. Tudjman could not issue such an order. His actions in connection with the Maslenica crisis have managed to unify the entire spectrum of the Croatian opposition—from the left to the extreme right. Matters have been made more difficult by statements about Slobodan Milosevic (relieving him of responsibility for the war and praise for keeping his word), because in the public there the prevailing view is that the president of Serbia regularly succeeds in "deceiving" Croatian negotiators.

It is not likely that we will learn in the foreseeable future what the two presidents talked about in their meetings, but there is no doubt that essential long-term compromises were made through bargaining. It is certain that the situation in the Zadar hinterland could not have been avoided. Thus, Dr. Tudjman, after the action of the HV on 22 January, was saying that he had more or less reached an agreement on this with Milosevic. Although many people believe that this could not have been an explicit consent on the part of the Serbian president, it was inevitable that the Knin leaders should break into a cold sweat, especially because the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] limited itself to lukewarm diplomatic protests. There is simply no guarantee that a real, but not public, consent was not given on this occasion. The fierce policy which Dr. Tudjman has conducted after taking a walk on the pontoon bridge seems to have confirmed those fears. First, he calmly declared that so many agreements which were not respected had been signed in the Yugoslav wars that there was no reason for this to be an exception, and soon the Croatian parliament decided to call the future Croatian currency the kuna. The excitement of RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic when he commented on this over the BBC captured best the way people feel in Krajina: fear that they will be left at Croatia's mercy.

Although Dr. Tudjman's statements are mainly addressed to the Croatian public, panic in Knin has reached critical mass. The Geneva agreements and the contentment of the Croatian and Serbian presidents are interpreted in terms of Krajina being gradually allowed to "slip downstream." That perception has been additionally reinforced by the announcement of American military intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, as Knin sees it, would force Milosevic to further concessions. The Krajina leaders, accordingly, were left no choice but to desperately resort to the last weapon which they have—the possibility of drawing Serbia into the war. Seselj and his Radicals have remained their only allies and only hope.

Lobotomy

Following the Croatian failure to perform the obligations assumed, Serbian artillery was heard from, and, consistent with earlier promises, it put the pontoon bridge out of service. Dr. Tudjman's first reaction was the statement that the Erdut agreement "is a thing of the past" because of the attack. Other Croatian officials were announcing a response in kind. Nevertheless, it seemed that everything would still remain under control because of pressure from the United Nations. During his visit to Knin immediately after the partial sinking of the bridge, Cedric Thornberry announced that dramatic negotiations were being conducted and that an agreement was on the horizon. But incidents and battles merely multiplied. The Serbian side shelled Karlovac and Gospic, and the Croatian side Teslingrad (previously Licki Osik) and Korenica once again. You might say that this is one bloody tit for an equally bloody tat.

What is particularly striking in all this are the reactions from the FRY. Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic is advising the Krajina Serbs to be restrained and patient: Yes, they are right, but everything need not be gained by war. Most of the other officials are hardly even noticing that war has blazed up once again in Croatia. No one is offering volunteers, no one is working particularly hard to prove his patriotism in the case of the Serbian republic of Krajina. It is thought that the reason for this is that making waves no longer suits the president of Serbia. A historic agreement is possible in Geneva and the ending of the big job in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so there really is no point in letting that effort and trouble be spoiled by a few hundred thousand brains lobotomized by war. The speculation goes even further: Slobodan Milosevic is said to look upon the RSK as more or less a Croatian problem, it is just that Dr. Tudjman, being a poor political tactician, is not able to take advantage of it.

The Objective

The two-year war in Croatia exhausted both sides. The Croatian economy is stumbling, while in Krajina the barter economy has prevailed for a long time.

But there are no signs that people are thinking about the future—the willingness of the governments in Knin and Zagreb to persist in their intractable positions has not been called into question at all. Nevertheless, will there may be, but there is not the strength to achieve the intensity of the conflict in 1991. Patriotic ardor has subsided everywhere, and sources for financing a war have dwindled. What has remained is exhaustion of the adversary. The Croatian authorities figure that with constant threats and provocations they will so exhaust the people of Krajina that most of them will move to Bosnia or Serbia for purely existential reasons, and that those who are left will have no choice but to give in. The FRY is not in any case able to protect even its own citizens from utter impoverishment. Knin is again relying on its own firepower, that is, the firepower of the army of the Srpska republic and the Army of Yugoslavia.

The Krajina leaders assume that sooner or later the Croatian side will have enough of the destruction to which they can be exposed at any moment and one day its top political leadership will throw up its hands. Compensation will in turn be found in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These plans, meanwhile, are not being realized either easily or quickly. The fear that someone will gain the advantage and the dissatisfaction of subjects with the increasingly miserable conditions of life result in decisions whose objective is to show how a final victory is within reach and that everything is going smoothly. And they will keep on building and destroying bridges, shelling civilian targets, and killing people. There will not be nor can there be any essential changes, and that kind of situation could last for a very long time. Infinitely, endlessly long.

Foreign Service Personnel Changes

93BA1395A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 93 p 4

[Article by Aleksa Crnjakovic: "Zuzul to London, Luks Without a Post?"]

[Text] Zagreb—Dr. Miomir Zuzul, ambassador in the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Croatia at the United Nations in Geneva, is moving—we have learned from well-informed sources—to a new job, also diplomatic. He will replace, from what we have heard, the ambassador in London.

As is well-known, Dr. Miomir Zuzul entered the diplomatic service, like most of the young Croatian officials in that sector, without diplomatic experience, but he very quickly proved himself to be a good acquisition. Aware himself that diplomatic experience is not a burden, but a need, he wanted to move from the post of deputy foreign minister, and his wish was granted, at a time when the minister was Dr. Skrabalo, and go into the "diplomatic field service." Thus, after only a few months of work in the post of deputy, he went off to be ambassador in Geneva, the center of diplomatic activity related to the problems of the former Yugoslavia. Some nevertheless saw this transfer as a demotion. He did not.

In any case, he is said to have been successful in Geneva. Which is why it is surprising that he is moving again to a new post, ambassador to Great Britain. This post is now held by Dr. Zeljko Bujas, but in some estimates the esteemed professor kept his head above water better at the university than in the diplomatic service. It is certain that the entire burden of insufficient presentation of Croatian views and interests in London cannot be placed on his back, but it is true that more was nevertheless expected of him. For a long time now, there has been whispering about his departure, and this was particularly talked about at the time of the anniversary of Croatian statehood.

Diplomacy is a rather seismic field. We also hear that Silvija Luks, the journalist, whose last job was in Markovic's YUTEL, and who is the wife of Ambassador Kalogjera, will be dismissed from the post of the so-called "flying ambassador," to which she was just appointed. This is considered a rather high post on the diplomatic ladder. This news has not been officially confirmed.

Effects of Crisis in European Monetary Markets

93BA1364A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Aug 93 p 5

[Interview with Bank of Slovenia Governor France Arhar by Lojze Javornik; place and date not given: "The Strengthening of the Mark Is Good News for Exporters to Germany"]

[Text] *The European monetary market has suffered one more upheaval—the worst since last June, when the so-called "European monetary serpent" started to give way. Monday's decision by the Twelve's finance ministers to increase the permitted deviations from the official exchange rates was even interpreted by some people as the virtual elimination of the unified system. We asked Bank of Slovenia Governor Dr. France Arhar to comment on how this event could influence our economy.*

[Arhar] These changes should be viewed from the perspective of our foreign trade, especially trade in goods and services. It quite certainly matters to Slovenes what happens in European monetary markets, what the exchange rate for the Portuguese escudo, the Spanish peseta, and the Franch franc will be like, and what relations will be like in the European monetary serpent, if it survives at all, since some people even think that Maastricht is virtually dead. Allowing a 15-percent range above and below the average exchange rate is actually a retreat from the policy of fixed exchange rates. Now it is possible that individual central banks in the Twelve will start to conduct a more independent policy and no longer be as subordinate to common goals. The Bundesbank will thus also become more independent, since the pressures to reduce interest rates will subside.

The winners in this confusion are the German mark, the Swiss franc, and gold. In the future it may happen that the German mark will be revalued within the European monetary system, whereas no fundamental shifts in relationship to the dollar are apparent, and we can expect the exchange rate for the dollar to be within the range of 1.70 to 1.75 marks.

Recently, the fate of European currencies has been shaped by various economic conditions, in which events have been marked by the economic recession and the high unemployment rate, for which most states see the solution as being cheaper capital. The Germans think exactly the opposite, that the interest rate is at the lowest possible point, since in view of the large budget requirements the Bundesbank thinks that lower interest rates could not attract enough foreign capital.

[Javornik] And how does that event specifically influence the situation here?

[Arhar] The key to everything is the supply and demand for foreign exchange. Since the mark is in first place in Slovenia's foreign exchange balance, its strengthening is favorable for us. The escudo, the peseta, and the Danish krone, whose values are falling, are not as important in our balance, but the French franc is extremely important for part of the Slovene economy, since the decline in its value reduces export earnings. Of course, the economic flows are interwoven. If I export to France, for example, it is very important where I import from. In the present situation, of course, the worst possibility is to import from Germany and export to France.

We had a similar situation last year, when the value of the lira and the Scandinavian currencies declined. At that time, exporters to the United States, Italy, and Scandinavia even proposed that the Bank of Slovenia help them through incorrect cross exchange rates. If anyone is thinking about such assistance, I should say immediately that the Bank of Slovenia simply cannot do it. Slovenia is a member of the International Monetary Fund, and we are obligated to respect the policy of cross exchange rates. We calculate the mutual relationships on the basis of the relationships specified in Frankfurt every day at 1300.

[Javornik] You mentioned influences on foreign trade, but probably the mark's high exchange rate and the high German interest rates also have a favorable effect on our foreign exchange reserves.

[Arhar] On the part that is in marks. The foreign exchange reserves are not all in marks, however, and instead are adapted to the structure of our balance of payments, in regard to which it should be stated that the dollar is paramount in capital transfers. In any case, the central bank has to make sure that our claims and obligations are distributed approximately uniformly.

[Javornik] You are still not going back very much to world monetary flows! You mentioned the growth of the mark, but that is only in relation to European currencies. In relation to the dollar, the mark is now established at the lowest level in the last two years, although it still seemed last fall that the dollar was facing collapse. The mark is also at the absolutely lowest values in relation to the yen. Doesn't that indicate that Europe as a whole is lagging behind the United States and Japan?

[Arhar] Slovenia is tied to Europe, and both the United States and Japan are somewhat remote from us. Our depositors, for example, are not even familiar with the yen, but the German mark is more or less a fetish. We can even say that in spite of the yen's strength, 70 percent of all international trade and foreign exchange reserves is in dollars. The United States is aware that the success of the European ECU would bring a real competitor onto the world monetary scene.

The upheavals in the monetary markets were upheavals in two directions. On one hand, there was an attempt to force the Bundesbank into the general logic of stimulating a new round of development by lowering interest rates, and on the other hand, the United States and Japan are not indifferent to whether Europe achieves the goal of a single currency, since that would mean great economic power. Probably the destruction of that pact and of the ideas of European union were also the aim of the speculations. In any case, the speculators proved

their power and the fact that fixed exchange rates deplete even extremely large foreign exchange reserves.

[Javornik] The target of most analysts is now Germany, which is allegedly conducting a selfish policy. If we consider the German inflation, however, we see that real interest rates there are lower than in France, and also the United States and Japan, even though they are higher in absolute terms. Also interesting are the double standards that some economists have for the situations in the West and the East. In the West, they are all betting now on lower interest rates, whereas in Russia and elsewhere in the East, they absolutely reject any consideration of a monetary stimulus for development. Essentially, it seems that the Bundesbank is taking necessary measures in view of the situation in the domestic economy.

[Arhar] I agree. Furthermore, it is also necessary to take into account the fact that the Germans are the biggest loaners to the Eastern countries. The American primary interest rate is at historically low levels, but there are still no reliable signs that a new round of development has started. We also have to take into account the essential difference between German banks and American and Japanese banks. German banks have the largest reserve funds for bad loans, because the tax system allows them to. Furthermore, last year there were 83 long-term deposits, i.e., over 12 months, whereas in the United States and Japan short-term money is predominant. In Germany, credit arrangements with a fixed interest rate are predominant, and in the United States and Japan a flexible rate.... All the data are in favor of German banks. The German mark today is virtually the basic European currency, as a consequence of the power radiated by the German economy. On the other hand, however, Germany needs money for investments in the eastern lands, and the Bundesbank thinks that the capital will come only if the price for it is appropriate.

Federal

Officials Discuss Possible Lifting of Sanctions

AU0109160493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Yugoslavia has met all the conditions that have been laid out for the sanctions to be lifted. That is why initiatives for the lifting of the blockade are expected very soon. This is the conclusion reached at the session of the Federal Government. Zeljko Simic, federal vice prime minister, and Milorad Unkovic, minister for oversees relations, informed correspondents about this. Olivera Stajic reports:

[Begin Stajic recording] Even though it is clear to almost everybody now that it is a civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and not some kind of an aggression by Yugoslavia, we need to keep repeating it persistently to the international public. We must particularly insist on the fact that Yugoslavia has contributed greatly to the peace negotiations. A positive result is expected these days from the Geneva peace process, and that will fulfill the conditions that the international community has laid out to Yugoslavia for the lifting of the sanctions.

The Federal Government believes that the lifting of the sanctions is important in more ways than one. It would primarily be a serious precondition for stabilizing the situation on the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia and it would also present a curtailment of the precedence—that is, the introduction of a new common law on solving the problems in certain countries by foreign interference. [sentence as heard]

As for the possibility of setting new conditions to Yugoslavia, such an act would be considered frivolous and politically unproductive. Yugoslavia refuses to consider any new conditions, since that would mean that it was turning into an object and not the subject of the international community. This was said by Zeljko Simic, federal vice prime minister. If there are any more conditions, it will mean that the connection between the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the sanctions does not exist.

Milorad Unkovic, minister for oversees relations, said that there were already certain positive signals from the Commission for Sanctions when it came to foodstuffs and medicine. However, the worrying thing is that for the time being, there is no indication of easing the sanctions concerning the import of oil and gas derivatives. The expectations, however, are that the international community will realize that Yugoslavia is making efforts to solve the crisis in Bosnia and that the sanctions will be somewhat eased soon. If something like that does not happen, then there will be reports from Yugoslavia on the tragic suffering of the people due to the lack of food, medicine, and heating, Unkovic warned.

Sanctions' 'Catastrophic' Effect on Health Care

LD0109141093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1323 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, Sep 1 (TANJUG)—The prolonged enforcement of the U.N. economic sanctions will have catastrophic consequences for the health of the population of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, says a government document prepared by a team of experts.

A copy of the newly-published document was presented to a British parliamentary delegation visiting the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The complete file on the worsening health conditions of the population due to the sanctions was drafted on the basis of the official data supplied by the federal health care institute and the conclusions of the first irregular congress of the Serbian doctors held last June.

From May 30, when the sanctions were imposed, the death rate from certain illnesses rose by 30 percent on the average. Due to a shortage of sedatives, doctors are again forced to tie up mental patients. Some illnesses, thought to have been completely eradicated, are now returning on a large scale, so far killing as many as 108 patients.

Experts expect a further worsening of all medical data due to the impoverishment of the population that is leading to a fall in the quality of nourishment and hygiene.

Commentary Profiles New Chief of Staff Perisic

AU0109131793 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA (Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Aug 93 p 2

[Commentary by Borislav Solesa: "You Should Liquidate Me Immediately—a Portrait of General Momcilo Perisic"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Momcilo Perisic, now chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, has never left people indifferent, both because of his personality and because of the fierce storms of war in which he has found himself. This 49-year-old with his extraordinary knowledge of what [Miroslav] Krleza [20th century Croatian writer] called "Serbian artillery," unfortunately has had to make use of his vast experience as a leading expert in guns, howitzers, and missiles in a civil war among the South Slav peoples.

De facto expelled—as a soldier of the "unruly Yugoslav Army"—from Zadar, from the post of commander of the prestigious Artillery School of the Yugoslav People's Army, the then Colonel Perisic arrived in Bileca, on the Serbian side of the Bosnia-Herzegovina war. This officer from the village of Kostunica, near Gornji Milanovac, commanded Herzegovina Serbs against other Herzegovina peoples, Croats and Muslims. It was obvious that he saw the people on the other side as the destroyers of Yugoslavia, the destroyers of individualism, and above all the destroyers of man as a unique individual and—in his view—all that was worth fighting for.

"One should understand that this was a civil war with all its details and differences from other, so-to-speak, normal wars—if there is or can be such a thing as a normal war," Perisic said in one of his rare interviews in September 1992. As regards the type of officers he would like to see in the transformed Yugoslav Army, in the same interview he said the following:

"There are three highly essential things in the education of officers: a high degree of patriotism, high moral values of the person, and expertise. Without these three characteristics, an officer can neither be complete nor a true leader, and there must exist within every officer elements of a naturally great leader. Unfortunately, we have had many legal leaders, but very few natural leaders, leaders whom people would follow. One more thing: An ability to predict the future and make independent decisions must be developed. It could be seen in this war that even many generals were no match for the politicians, not because their intellect or education was inferior, but because they were naive."

The retirement of as many as 42 generals has aroused special concern. Such a reshuffle warrants special investigation, as it is rare in any army.

A pessimist would say that "generals' heads were rolling," which will have a profound impact on combat readiness; optimists see in this the final exit of people brought up in the political workshops of before the war of the 90's. However, one cannot make a blanket assessment, as each one of the generals has his own special story. Perisic should now make many moves and much is going to depend on those moves. The new top military and political leadership as to who will replace those generals will provide many answers and finally determine the makeup of the Yugoslav Army.

Unraveling Perisic's Gordian knot is clear but difficult. Being at war for too long, and not particularly inclined to administrative work, salon debates, and verbal duels, this artillery general is going to find himself in a real hornets' nest. He is going to find it hard to cope with the burden of politics, spinelessness, and idleness that these hard times have imposed on parts of the top military leadership as well. His own experience will hardly help him to do so.

Perisic needed six months to extricate himself and his Artillery School from the blockade in Zadar in times of extremely intensive combat. "Yugoslavia's borders are being defended around our barracks" and "if I attempt to surrender and give up you and our country, you should liquidate me immediately," is what he asked of his officers and soldiers then. In a fully "kamikaze" fashion, Perisic arranged that if the barracks were nevertheless occupied, 72 artillery pieces (guns, howitzers, and multiple rocket launchers) from the Serbian side should pound the barracks in which he and the remaining Yugoslav soldiers were stationed. What is interesting is that his idea delighted (!) [punctuation as published] those people who were supposed to quit this world along with him.

In any case, what is involved is a tough soldier whom some glorify and others consider to be a destroyer and a criminal. This is clear. All the rest is an unknown quantity, because the warrior Perisic is now getting himself into strange games and the labyrinths of Yugoslavia's serious false peace, which is poor in many respects but rich in political intrigues.

Foreign Minister Jovanovic Arrives in Beijing

LD0209102393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0959 GMT 2 Sep 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Beijing, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic arrived in Beijing on Thursday [2 September] for an official visit to China at the invitation of Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

During his three-day visit to Beijing Jovanovic will meet with high-ranking Chinese officials to discuss the possibilities for promoting cooperation between the two friendly countries and the current developments in the world, with a special emphasis on the situation in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic is expected to brief the Chinese leadership about the situation in Yugoslavia and the efforts made by the Yugoslav leadership to find as soon as possible a peaceful solution to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia. He will also inform his hosts about Yugoslavia's efforts for the lifting of the unjust international sanctions.

Jovanovic will also meet with Foreign Minister Qichen, Vice President Rong Yiren and Chairman of the Chinese Assembly's foreign policy committee Zhu Liang.

The Chinese leadership has so far underscored it opposes in principle all forms of foreign interference, especially military intervention in the territory of former Yugoslavia. China considers that any foreign involvement in the developments in former Yugoslavia can only lead to the deterioration of the present conflict, and that this is why those who live in the region should resolve their mutual disputes by themselves. China also opposes all forms of sanctions, as it believes that sanctions cannot lead to an essential settlement of the current problems and conflicts, but only unjustly punish the innocent population.

Possible Territorial Exchange With Croatia Discussed

AU0209092093 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Aug 93 p 11

[Article by Srdjan Radulovic: "The Game With Red Telephones"]

[Text] After the Geneva maps for Bosnia-Herzegovina had been published, the possibility of making "territorial transactions" in the republic of Serbian Krajina became relevant again. There are new assumptions about the

"value" of western Slavonija and about the reasons why the Serbs are moving out of this area. Are the secret and public agreements in connection with Maslenica "included" in the size of the Serbian corridor through Posavina [the Sava Valley]? Will Serbia get the eastern part of the republic of Serbian Krajina (the right bank of the Danube), giving Croatia the area of the former Serbian autonomous region of Krajina in return?

The answers to these and similar questions necessitate respectable arguments in order to be taken seriously. It is a fact, however, that similar dilemmas are reported more and more often from Croatia, too, although the official HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] authorities deny any possibility of making territorial concessions in order to "reintegrate the occupied regions." Admittedly, neither the official authorities, nor the opposition parties mention the probability of a territorial "agreement" with Knin, but the Croatian opposition circles are calculating on a secret agreement between Zagreb and Belgrade. The combination that is usually mentioned is that Baranja, Vukovar and Ilok would be given to Serbia, but it is not mentioned how this would be carried out and what Croatia would get from Serbia in return.

Such a possibility was announced by the Zagreb philosopher Zarko Puhovski in an interview given to the Austrian Radio. He expressed a similar view in an interview to BORBA several months ago, but at that time the present solution model for Bosnia-Herzegovina was not yet conceived. This means that it is possible that there were some "old" agreements. Almost at the same time, the AIM Agency published a text by Drago Hedl, a former journalist of GLAS SLAVONIJE and SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, writing on the same issue. He called to mind that the HDZ branch in Osijek had warned in an official statement that "Baranja was sold, and Eastern Slavonija betrayed." Official circles have not mentioned this possibility lately, although according to Hedl, the Croatian population is putting pieces of the mosaic together, based on the behavior of the Croatian authorities, which points to such a possibility. Hedl illustrated this by Tudjman's speech delivered at the Zemunik Airport opening ceremony, when he said that "this is the last airport to be reopened in Croatia," not mentioning the Klis Airport near Osijek, which is in an area controlled by Krajina. Hedl interprets similarly Tudjman's empty promises about the return of the refugees to Baranja and about the construction of a bridge across the Drava River, which was earlier called "the bridge of return."

The Krajina authorities are also denying any possibility of "dealing" with territories. During a recent news conference in Knin, however, Rade Leskovac, the leader of the Radical Party, blamed Goran Hadzic, the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, for illicit dealings in wood and oil and accused him of "preparing the secession of the eastern part of the republic of Serbian Krajina." This accusation from Leskovac has not meanwhile been denied, and it has to be remembered that Hadzic was also accused when he—together with his followers from Baranja, eastern Slavonija and western Srem—supported the Vance-Owen plan at the "all Serbian" gathering in Belgrade.

It has been known for a long time already that representatives of Krajina and Croatia made an agreement at the end of last year, by which Croatia was allowed to construct the Maslenica Bridge. The situation after the Croatian military action in the south of Krajina on 22 January 1993, the conflicts within the Krajina leadership, suspension of planned military actions at the last moment (toward Skradin and Biograd) caused new uncertainties about "the sale" of Krajina territories. Similar speculation was also heard in connection with the Erdut agreement, although the negotiators from Krajina obtained a formally better position by this document. The speculation arose because there was no support from Belgrade when Croatia violated the agreement. The question is whether the formal advantage is only a cover for something else that is secretly being prepared between Zagreb and Belgrade. It is possible that the discussions about the Erdut agreement are being used only as a pretext to keep the truce until the Bosnian enigma is solved.

Goran Hadzic's statement, issued during the talks with the representatives of the conference on former Yugoslavia in Erdut, is indicative, because he said in an answer that the number of Serbian policemen in the villages of Smokovic, Islam Grcki and Kasic (from which the Croatian troops should withdraw according to the Erdut agreement) has only "a symbolic meaning for us."

In any case, it is certain that "dealing" with parts of the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina and with the political status of (the rest of) Krajina serves global relations between Serbia and Croatia. We shall have to wait for the arguments to answer these questions at least until the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is over.

Nationalism Seen as Replacing Class Division

93BA1392A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 93 p 11

[Article by Tomislav Dumezic: "Nationalities at War Have Replaced the Class in Power"]

[Text] In the period January-May of this year, public revenues collected in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] amounted to 61,911 billion dinars, about 50 percent of which are public revenues intended for budgetary expenditure. The structure of budget revenues in this period was:

	(percentage)
Federal budget	23.4
Republic budgets	57.2
Opstina (city) budgets	17.1
Other recipients	2.3
Total	100.0

In the structure of public revenues, the turnover tax on products and services dominates with a percentage of 52.1 percent, followed by the income tax, whose share was 33.7 percent. The share of taxes collected directly from the population is minimal.

"Tax Heaven" Leads to Tax Chaos

The fact that the share of revenues collected directly from individuals in total budget revenues is minimal does not really mean that much from the material standpoint. That is, public expenditure is financed only to a small extent from real incomes collected from firms and individuals.

The largest source of revenues is the actual issuing of money as the revenues of the national banks from note issue. The federal budget, even under the law, is mostly financed directly from primary issue. Primary issue is also being used, of course, to finance the budget expenditures of the republics, including also the partial financing of social insurance.

In a period when primary issue is not only a basic source, but almost the only source of money, the issuing institution (the national bank or the state) realizes immense revenues which grow not only in absolute terms, but also in relative terms. At a monthly discount rate of 120 percent, and with primary issue of, say, 10,000 billion, the system of national banks realizes a monthly revenue of 12,000 billion dinars. That is why the government does not have such a great need for money from taxpayers, collection of taxes from individuals has been neglected, the tax on personal income (except for the ever-diminishing advance tax payment) is not being collected, and it seems that a "tax heaven" has already been created in a sense. However, tax chaos has been achieved.

"Hard Currency, Hard Currency"... A Crime

The burden of note issue falls mostly on the broadest (poorest) stratum of the population, on all individuals who realize regular monthly earnings on the basis of their work or social benefits. Their income loses 5 to 10 percent of its value every day, and the government has made it possible for them to preserve the real value through transfer of dinars to foreign currency because of the chronic shortage of cash. Cash, that is, is being abundantly used to purchase foreign currency, but this can be done only by individuals and institutions, banks, firms selling goods and collecting for services in cash.

This issuing of dinars, which have lost all the functions of a currency, even the accounting function, is taking on a new function—it is becoming a means of appropriating a foreign currency from the public, who, to be sure, have not been robbed, because they are receiving (by and large) the corresponding dinar equivalent. But the essence is that the purchaser of foreign exchange (the new owner, that is, mostly the government) is not really paying anything; the transaction takes place through the issuing of money, which costs nothing and whose inflationary effect is distributed among the entire public, but mostly those living off monthly income, regardless of whether it comes from work or social benefits. Thus, this specific function of the dinar, which makes it possible for the government to appropriate the savings of its own subjects in foreign currency at no cost, comes down to robbery of the poorest strata of the population.

Cause or Consequence

The war and the sanctions are greatly speeding up the economic disaster. Smaller expenditures for the army and police, an end to financing the war, and reduction or elimination of aid to the Serbian krajinas would help to reduce total public expenditure, and that means there would be less pressure on primary issue, so that inflation would be somewhat slower, and the consumption (and real income) of citizens of the FRY greater. However, is the war (along with the sanctions) the cause of economic and social ruin? There is, that is, the basis for looking at the war itself as a part of the overall policy.

The leaderships in the republics of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (in the majority) did not accept the concept of peaceful transformation of socialism to a liberal and open society with a dominant private economy. They committed themselves to collectivism and a closed economy; in practice, they remained in the same positions as the previous communist authorities. The class interest was only replaced by the ethnic interest, membership in a class by membership in the nationality. And the slogans in which the alleged interests were expressed and the means of achieving them did not undergo any essential change. Being a Serb (in Serbia) or a Croat (in Croatia), according to the official policy, was the same as it was for Lenin or Tito to be a member of the working class. Except, just as within the working class itself there could be workers unaware of class, and even traitors to the working class, so there are ethnically unaware Serbs, Croats, and even members of a nationality who are traitors to their own people.

The Nationality as a Shelter for the Incompetent

Is the predominance of nationalistic collectivism in the largest republics mostly the consequence of a distorted consciousness which was formed in a large number of individuals by the previous system, which was also collectivist; did the low material level of the population, which was becoming increasingly visible as the government and economy opened up more to the world have the decisive influence; does society consist mostly of not very industrious and not particularly able individuals disinclined to take risks and assume responsibility, people with low individual values who can only make up for their own incompetence and worthlessness by belonging to a broad group (in this case the nationality)? Perhaps there are also other causes, perhaps even more important ones. But the consequences are here: When the commitment was made to the ethnic state, the war option was chosen; when the commitment was made to nationalism or collectivism, individual values were degraded; when nationalism and collectivism were adopted as the basic postulates on which the state is based, the people committed itself to dictatorship, to a

closed economy and society, and it declared itself against private business and a liberal economy.

When the SFRY disintegrated and several independent states were formed on that space, economic retrogression need not have occurred, much less economic disaster. That is, the size of a state does not determine the level of its economic development and the quality of life of its citizens. Proof: Most of the largest states are in fact underdeveloped countries, while among the smallest there are a number of the most highly developed, belonging to the group of states with the highest per capita national income. The size of the state (population or area), then, does not determine a state's economic development; it is not even determined by its own available natural wealth (whose influence is nevertheless indisputable); level of development and the level of life are directly correlated to the quality of the state, to the sociopolitical and economic system and to the level of its openness, that is, its linkage to the world.

The concept of a relatively closed economy has been adopted in the FRY. This concept was in fact imposed by the sanctions of the international community, but at the same time (not, of course, to the same degree) by its own choice as well. Sufficient evidence has been offered for this going back to the end of 1990.

Nothing has changed in the prevailing economic conception carried over from the previous socialism (we should import what cannot be produced in the country, we should substitute imports, we should not import what we can do without...). This is a concept of self-sufficiency. The consequences are: unprofitable production, high cost per unit product, an unsatisfactory level of quality, low real earnings, a low level of consumption of the population. Persistence in pursuit of this concept leads to a total isolation of the country and its citizens. The sanctions have only had the result that this process, which is necessary and gradual anyway, has been brought about immediately.

Serbia

Seselj's Relations With Army Analyzed

93BA1317B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 93 pp 14-16

[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Seselj and the Military: Radical Left"]

[Text] Former Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, one of the people accused by Seselj of subverting the country's defensive strength, usually waved his hand at the mention of the duke's name and said "that man is a disgrace to Serbia" or "that is how it began in Germany too; this must not happen in our country, and now is the time for us to prevent it." In a newspaper interview several months later, Dr. Seselj explained that Milosevic never could have defeated Panic in the elections, at least not cleanly in the first round, if he had not had the support of the radicals. "Moreover," Seselj added, "our struggle against the traitor Milan Panic and the fifth-column opposition in Belgrade has helped keep the socialists from crashing long ago."

In May of this year, then-FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] President Dobrica Cosic expressed his belief that because of his militancy and political extremism Seselj had lost a great deal and that his influence was on the decline. A month later, after the socialists with radical assistance had removed him from the political scene, Dobrica Cosic could not stop voicing his disbelief, like many others: "He is extremely militant," Cosic said of Seselj at the time. "His party is militant too. Moreover, it is Fuehrer-like.... We are all amazed at who voted for Seselj. I have not met any such person in my circle."

The Military Is Next

This time, as he targets the army leadership, Dr. Seselj—who recently said that he is beginning "a new political game, and we will see who has how many trump cards in this game"—is setting his sights rather high.

Aside from Col. Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, who for now is the only person to respond to Seselj in kind, questioning the duke's common sense, the latest list of those targeted for political liquidation includes the chief of the General Staff, Lt. Gen. Zivota Panic, because of the "Panic and Son" affair; Gen. Radovan Radinovic, because he has a Croat wife and several other "Croat connections"; the commander of the First Military District, Gen. Vladimir Stojanovic, because Gen. Panic's son traded with the military through the "Centaur" firm in his zone of responsibility; and the head of the counterintelligence service, Col. Aleksandar Dimitrijevic, "because given the nature of his work he should have known about the affair in question, but did not."

"When these people are replaced, the combat readiness of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia will certainly be strengthened," Vojislav Seselj has repeated insistently in recent days. "I know that best of all, because I am an expert in the matters of which I speak, and their replacement is in the interest of members of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia]—I guarantee it.... The Army needs a fundamental rejuvenation and the appointment of the most competent people to key functions and command posts."

As an "expert" in the matters of which he speaks, Dr. Seselj, of course, knows that strengthening the combat readiness of the VJ depends very little on replacing the officers in question, or on which of the most prominent generals will follow the chief of the VJ General Staff, Zivota Panic, into utterly certain retirement. Nor does it depend on how many of them will go into retirement "under a dark cloud," compromised by various affairs and accused of wartime profiteering.

From Tito to Tito

Vojislav Seselj became an "expert in military affairs" while he was still the youngest Ph.D. candidate in the

former Yugoslavia, specializing in questions of national defense. As a doctoral candidate, the youthful Seselj was, for example, the main star at an academic gathering in December 1979 in Pristina, where he presented the paper "The Equality, Fraternity, Unity, and Community of Nations and Nationalities and National Defense."

"Both the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and territorial defense," Seselj wrote at the time, "must be imbued with awareness of the full equality and equal rights of members of all our nations and nationalities by developing the basic principles of interethnic relations that guide our self-management socialist society," Seselj says, among other things, in his work, quoting in 10 pages of text the academic thinking of Josip Broz at least as many times, with other references to other classics of Marxism and military science—Lenin, Viktor Bubanj, and Nikola Ljubicic. Ten years later, as the chetnik duke, Vojislav Seselj set out with a hawthorne stick to destroy the tomb of Josip Broz, the man whom he had previously quoted ad infinitum. The guards at the House of Flowers at that point had orders from the military leadership to shoot if any demonstrators crossed the line specified for holding rallies.

Both then and now, as an "expert in military affairs," Seselj did not think about the military professionally; as a young doctoral candidate he considered it from the position of Marxism-Leninism, purely ideologically. As a chetnik duke, he regards the military as an instrument of nationalist policy. This first view, according to which the former JNA could never be a professional, depoliticized army, led to its ruin. The second view, which Seselj holds today, prevents the transformation of what has remained of that military, exposes it to endless internal purges (according to Col. Stojadinovic, the radicals have their own branch in the Armed Forces, which continually provides them with lists of unsuitable officers), and is leading to a situation in which one day it will be incited to settle scores with "bad Serbs" in particular, which could also be its definitive end.

Through its inability to transform and professionalize itself, the VJ has in practice only traded one policy in for another. Under these modified circumstances, Dr. Vojislav Seselj has gone from favorite to enemy, and quite naturally has ended up as the military's favorite again. Throughout 1990, while the war was still looming on the horizon, Seselj's radicals warned that the JNA needed to be purged. He personally demanded the dismissal of Veljko Kadijevic, and he called Petar Simic an ustasha. After that, things escalated further: Seselj demanded that Kadijevic be arrested and put on trial, and that he be "shot" as the main culprit, that he be followed immediately in the defendant's box by Adzic, Brovet, Kukanjac.... The ordinary soldiers and deserters would be dealt with only at the end. During that time, Seselj also raved at some speaking engagements about "the irresolute Milosevic regime," because "it took us," he said, "two months to convince them to arrest Gen. Trifunovic and put him on trial."

At the same time that the army leadership was feeling disgusted and distancing itself from Seselj and his chetniks, while Radmilo Bogdanovic was telling Zagreb's DANAS that "the duke can only prattle on and threaten," behind the scenes, with Jezda's money, police-military structures were acquiring weaponry for chetnik volunteers. From the most hated person, Vojislav Seselj slowly became an army favorite and was honored by being allowed to inspect regular units of the JA [Yugoslav Army] at various theaters of operations. Wherever he has appeared in uniform, soldiers have literally come running to be photographed with him as a memento. "Wherever he goes, soldiers remember his arrival for a long time," says Biljana Plavsic, "while on the other hand, the news that he is at the battlefield terribly demoralizes our enemies." Unlike members of other paramilitary formations, Seselj's fighters are praised even by military courts for not participating in the mass liberation of freezers, refrigerators, and television sets, and for being fairly disciplined.

At the time, Seselj personally paid regular visits to the "liberators" of Vukovar. In an interview many months later, he explained that Vukovar had to be destroyed because the "ustashi feverishly wanted to keep it under their control." In May of this year, after Gen. Panic mentioned his own services in the "liberation" of Vukovar as a counterargument to the duke's charges of his involvement in dishonest business dealings, Vojislav Seselj changed his story and accused Gen. Panic of "destroying this city and wasting a great deal of ammunition by applying the wrong tactics." Here he neglected the fact that he was accusing "his own" people of the destruction of Vukovar as well—Gen. Biorcevic and Maj. Sljivancanin, whose contributions to transforming Vukovar into a Balkan version of Hiroshima were immeasurable. As long as things were still as they should be, Gen. Panic praised Seselj at many closed meetings with reserve military officers as a genuine patriot and true fighter for the "Serb cause."

Merits

Recently asked to enumerate the most important accomplishments of his policy, Dr. Seselj included military merits: His party, he explained, through its intervention had led to the stabilization of the situation on the fronts, while it had a timely influence on settling the situation in the Army. Col. Stojadinovic, who for the last few months has been the only one in the ranks of the JA to dare publicly contradict Seselj, says that the effects of the chetnik duke's policy have been quite the opposite. Seselj's insane statements about bombing Rome, for example, have only further ghettoized the Serb nation and undeservingly placed all its members on the potential list of international terrorists. Cutting money from the budget for the needs of the Armed Forces was intended to subjugate it, because an impoverished military can easily become some party's booty, says Col. Stojadinovic.

Viewed from the present perspective, this does not seem that impossible either. Hanging over an army that politicians do not allow to be transformed into a professional military, without which it cannot survive, is the threat that one day it will split up into various party factions. Just as today Gen. Domazetovic is keeping his office under occupation, tomorrow someone else could occupy some regiment, Batajnica, Krusevac, or Lapovo, and based on the Bosnian model turn everything over to the authority of local leaders and parties. Naturally, if there as not something completely different in the game, as Goran Latinovic, one of the leaders of the SK-PJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia], recently disclosed quite openly in an interview with DUGA.

"Have your heard what Seselj says in the Assembly about justice, equality, all this about the budget?" Latinovic asked the DUGA journalist. "Any communist could have said that. Seselj's ideas have many similarities with communist ideas. They are close to us. That is why we in the SK-PJ think that the preconditions have been created in Yugoslavia for the formation of a Radical Left. The end of the war will bring with it an end to the ideas being introduced to this region by neoliberal capitalism, which wants to transform the Yugoslav nation into white slaves of the EC and United States."

Draskovic: Geneva Plan Not Solution to Bosnian War

AU0109164593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Report by Srdjan Savic on a news conference by Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, in Belgrade on 1 September—recorded]

[Text] [Savic] Answering reporters' questions, which were mostly concentrated on the Geneva talks, the situation in Serbia, and some of his statements on Macedonia, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] stressed that the program of the SPO did not imply the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic states, that the sanctions would not be lifted until democratic elections were held in Serbia, and also said that, after the change of the regime in Belgrade, a state unification of Serbia and the Vardar region of Macedonia would be possible.

Speaking in more detail, Vuk Draskovic said that the Geneva conference represented the legitimization of ethnic cleansing, conducted by all three sides in the Bosnia-Herzegovina war, in which there has been no winner. The Serbian side has lost the most since it has been reduced from 65 percent to 50 percent of the territory, the largest cities have been lost, as have the rivers, and 80 percent of the natural resources of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Vuk Draskovic also gave his assessment of the Geneva talks:

[Draskovic] I believe that, with certain guarantees by the United States, primarily, the Muslim side will also sign the plan, but in any case, whether they sign or not, the war will continue. That Islamic state will certainly get significant economic and military help from the Islamic world. I am afraid that the economic recovery of Serbia will be long in coming, not before the present regime leaves power. The agony will continue, and a large number of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina will gradually leave—this is how I see it—the territory of the Serb republic, and come to Serbia or go abroad, or even go to the Muslim Bosnia to work there, since that country will soon be able to offer them jobs.

[Savic] Vuk Draskovic also announced changes in the head commission of his party, and said that so-called patriotic profiteers had transferred $15 billion from Serbia to foreign banks. He stressed that the opposition at the moment could do nothing do halt the economic collapse of Serbia, and announced that the SPO representatives would soon visit Great Britain, Holland, and the United States.

Government Introduces New Rations for Essentials

LD0109215393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2134 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade, September 1 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Wednesday [1 September] adopted a regulation on organizing the sale of cheaply priced essential products for the population. The new supply regime could go into effect as soon as Thursday, Minister of Trade and Tourism Radis Dordjevic told journalists.

A four-member household will be entitled to 25 kilograms of flour, two kilograms of suger, one kilogram of salt, three litres of edible oil and two kilograms of detergents from comodity reserves every month, said Djordjevic.

These products will be sold at prices registered on August 17, when the government froze the prices of the essentials. The purpose of the measure is to stabilize the supply of the population with basic products.

The economy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is facing collapse as as a result of the sanctions imposed against it by the United Nations in May last year because of Yugoslavia's alleged involvement in the war in the neighbouring former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In august, inflation in yugoslavia was 1,880 percent higher than in the previous month and most of the population in the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro live below subsistence level. An additional burden are shortages of certain products, which are being withheld from consumers by sales clerks.

Heating Prospects for Winter Discussed

93BA1392C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 93 p 9

[Article by Momcilo Cebalovic: "Without Fuel Oil and Gas—No Heat"]

[Text] Things are very lively these days in government agencies and the NIS [Petroleum Industry of Serbia]. All the top people in the ministries and the NIS are solving problems of vital importance to the people. They have to find heavy fuel oil, and, if possible, gas as well, so that by December at the latest they have inventories of fuel to cover at least as much heating as there was last winter.

According to well-informed sources, there is hope of successfully solving these problems, and the chances are not bad. Unless something significant happens, the NIS could by the beginning of the heating season possess quantities of heavy fuel oil that would significantly offset the demand for electricity, meeting the need to cover priorities, which are many, at the level of last winter at least. After all, in addition to the city heating plants, there are the sizable needs of agriculture (sugar mills), the electric power industry....

The amounts and the arrangements are, of course, a secret, but the essential thing for the public is that the optimism of the authorities, this time well-founded, is greater than a month or two ago. The problem, not for the first time, will be money, but the "circle" can also be closed in some other way. The essential thing, then, is that an effort is being made, that there is hope that the temperature in apartments will be at least what it was some 10 months ago. That would eliminate those "scenarios" of people gathering together in gymnasiums and in heated common spaces.

Heavy Fuel Oil Three Times More Expensive

Nevertheless, although winter is on the threshold, in these times when every day brings new developments, it also could be far away. That is why we have to wait until at least September and October have passed for assessments of heating to be still more precise.

Belgrade is "the most vulnerable" and not only when it comes to energy. Especially because the capital will this winter be without the project for the Obrenovac-Belgrade heating line because the money was late in coming from primary issue and the republic and even federal government hesitated in backing it. The Belgrade Heat and Electric Plants remain the only hope for Belgraders.

Last winter, we were told this May by Predrag Vasic, general director of that public enterprise, was one of the most difficult. Instead of a standard of 20 kg of heavy fuel oil per square meter of residential space, they consumed 14-15 kg. Instead of the planned 300,000 metric tons of standard heavy fuel oil (fuel oil and gas), they consumed only 150,000 tons during the season. The problem of illiquidity was obvious, because not a dinar was paid to the NIS for the 76,000 tons of fuel delivered. In view of all this, as well as the price of heavy fuel oil, which is today three times higher than "normal" (we have no choice), they were pessimistic in the heat and power plants a few months ago. It could in fact be worse, Vasic said at that time.

Now with the help of the republic and the NIS as a government enterprise, Belgrade will be heated again this winter. This "knot" of mutual debts, it is even difficult to read the figures, between the NIS and Belgrade, between Belgrade and the republic, between the NIS and the republic (because of the unrealistic prices of fuel) will not be untied once again. But the essential thing for the public is that the government is ordering the NIS to deliver fuel to Belgrade, and who will "beat" whom afterward in those debts is not so relevant. But will the heat and power plants be ready to heat if there is fuel?

"It is very important that in the next 15 days heat and power plants receive, according to the calculation made on 21 July, 140,000 billion dinars to finish the necessary repairs," we were told by Dragan Nikolic, technical director of Belgrade Heat and Power Plants. "At these heating prices, which was 8 million dinars for an apartment of 50 square meters in July, payable in August, that kind of money is not to be had. That is why we have requested that money from the city. If it arrives on time, the installations will be ready to operate."

Money is also a problem for the electric power industry. According to Krsto Vukovic, assistant general director of the EPS [Electric Power Industry of Serbia] responsible for generating power, customers in Serbia must be prepared for cutbacks.

The Truth Comes to the Surface

"In this situation, the EPS is making maximum efforts so that everything we have will be able to generate power. Repair plans have been increasingly restrictive for two years in a row now, and that is also true this year. Even what is planned is not being done according to the plan because of the lack of money. For all those reasons, the readiness of the capacity of the EPS to generate power will be considerably less than last year. Everything will operate that can operate, but how it will operate will depend on consumption, weather conditions.... Last winter, to recall, many records were broken in the production and consumption of power. How it will be will also depend on the supply of other sources of energy. The thousands of new electric radiators that will be connected constitute a danger."

There will be coal, but mainly for thermal power plants, while once again this year the public will try in vain to buy it. Assuming, of course, that people have money. The miners say that there never has been a greater demand for coal and never been less of it. For example, Iskra of Belgrade could sell 15,000 tons a day, but it is receiving one-tenth as much. Production in Serbia's underground mines, as expected, is declining. There is no money, explosives, or supports.

There is no point in thinking about fuel oil. That is actually diesel fuel, and agriculture is counting on it. A ton of heating oil on the black market can be found at a price of at least 1,000 German marks.

There have been some promises from the Commissariat for Refugees that there will be heavy fuel oil for humanitarian imports, but such announcements should be treated with reserve, because last winter schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and trucks for refugees did not receive anything from the international community. But relieving city power plants of that obligation would nevertheless be significant.

All the documents related to the energy balance and marked "confidential" will come before the Government of Serbia in the coming week. We can expect to learn something more at that time about what awaits us with the first cold days. But government authorities must not by any means embellish the press releases and deceive the public with unrealistic promises. The situation must finally be portrayed realistically so that everyone can prepare himself for the days that come insofar as he is able.

Drastic Production Decrease in Sumadija

93BA1392D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Aug 93 p 21

[Article by Zoran Radovanovic: "Sanctions for One Year, Disorder for Many Years"]

[Text] Kragujevac—The decline of industrial output in Sumadija and the Morava Valley is developing in altogether uncontrolled ways, with the economy here entering the domain of the irrational, so that making forecasts of any kind would not only be thankless, it would be impossible.

It was with this descriptive assessment that the people in the Regional Chamber of Commerce in Kragujevac are presenting the specific characteristics of the current business despair, indicating that in the first half of this year, compared to the same period of last year, a drop of production of no less than 50 percent has been recorded, which is some 10 percent or so more than the republic average. This figure, of course, points up unambiguously the fact that the economy of this part of Serbia is in the most unenviable position of any between Horgos and Dragas.

What Is Coming to Light

This observation is suggested by the figures that in the first half of this year the production of cars and trucks has "fallen" here by no less than 90 percent, and that from the already decimated output of last year. At the same time, a decline of production amounting to several tens of percentage points is also being recorded by other activities in metal manufacturing, above all, the production of drive chains in Filip Kljajic in Kragujevac. Nor is yet another "strategic" production operation in Sumadija and the Morava Valley—the manufacturing of electrical equipment at Kablovi in Jagodina—in any better position.

The gloomy picture of the day-to-day business climate here, they say in the Regional Chamber of Commerce, would be still more obscure if last year's and this year's volume of output were calculated with the chain index and output in 1989 were taken as the base. It is only on the basis of figures obtained in that way that one can examine quite clearly the disastrous proportions of the collapse of the economy in the Sumadija-Morava basin, whose operation and functioning provide a living to virtually half of Serbia. Fortunately (or unfortunately), these figures are not being published. To tell the truth, no one is even asking for them, because those who know what they mean prefer "to keep their head in the sand," while those who are less well-informed (they are said to number about a million) are feeling them on their own skin with "real dignity."

The Workers Are Changing Their Physical Appearance

The destinies of those employed in the "industrial giants" here speak in more human terms about the collapse of the economy in this part of Serbia. Thus, according to trade union activists at Zastava, the physical appearance of many workers at the automobile factory has changed recently because of hunger. During the recent strike of those employed in the largest automobile firm in the Balkans, the trade unionists openly sent a message to Slobodan Milosevic and Nikola Sainovic that together with other workers and their families, they have been brought to the edge of biological survival. The trade union of Kablovi in Jagodina, until recently one of the pillars of the Serbian economy, also issued a recent appeal to the top leadership of the Serbian Government. That appeal also said that the "workers are humiliated, pitiful, and depersonalized," and that they cannot put up with this much longer. Those employed in Filip Kljajic have been announcing a hunger strike for quite some time now as the only weapon left to them in the struggle to preserve a minimum of human dignity. The situation, of course, is not any better at all in the other, somewhat "smaller" firms in the Sumadija-Morava region.

Those who are quite familiar with economic events here say that there is nevertheless a salvation for the smaller firms. They, after all, can undertake the process of changing their production programs more easily, quickly, and effectively, and under present conditions this is almost impossible to do in the former "locomotives of development" of socialist realism such as, for example, Zastava, Kablovi, or Filip Kljajic. This is especially true because these and similar "giants" all over Serbia have for years now been eking out a bare existence and surviving with the help of a government "iron lung," which is to say with coverage of their losses and coverage of their organizational and developmental

disorder, while the one year of sanctions of the international community has only speeded up their twilight, which was announced long ago.

Policy of 'Global Conspiracy' Discussed

93BA1386A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 93 pp 16-17

[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Seselj and the Spies: The Third Man in Belgrade"]

[Text] Measured by the standards of the monstrous patriotism that is in power, Radovan Karadzic, one of the greatest "giants of Serbism," recently came quite close to the category of dubious patriots, if not an actual traitor. In a letter sent last week to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, Karadzic finally admitted repentantly, after several days of denial, that the Serbs, by mistake it is true, did shell the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] base in Sarajevo, which evoked fierce reactions in the world and once again brought Pale close to an altogether realistic possibility of bombardment. Before Karadzic acknowledged the shelling as commander in chief and promised the arrest of the irresponsible officers, Major General Milan Gvero, assistant commander of the general staff of the army of the Sprska republic [RS], declared without batting an eye that even this most recent case followed a now "hackneyed scenario." On the eve of important peace meetings, General Gvero said, the Muslim side always staged something or killed its own people so that it could then attribute that to the Serbian side.

The man who in all the Serbian lands long ago became the supreme arbiter of intelligence, patriotism, Serbism, integrity, and many other things, Vojislav Seselj, went incomparably further than Gen. Gvero. The day before Radovan Karadzic admitted that his soldiers had shelled the UNPROFOR Command, Vojvoda Seselj said in a news conference with his usual self-assurance that he had "reliable information" that the shelling of the UNPROFOR had been jointly thought up by the CIA and people from the United Nations, in agreement with the Muslim side, in order to weaken the Serbian negotiating position in Geneva. "I do not have evidence, but I have reliable information as the basis for my assertion," Seselj said, uttering the characteristic sentence which in these parts has always had an incomparably greater effect than any evidence.

In a country in which there is a total information blackout and in which every evening the ordinary man has his brain tattooed from the TV screen with messages to the effect that the enemies of Serbism are lurking in every particle of air, the reference to "reliable" information about a new global conspiracy against the Serbs cannot do harm even to a person who is thus obviously and quickly caught in a lie. And why should it, when a majority of those who are still exposing themselves daily to this unprecedented radiation from the media has long since been able to cry "with just one eye," convinced that in this just war "which is imposed on them," the Serbs cannot do any evil to anyone even by accident. The recently published results of a public opinion survey by the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade showed that the current Serbian policy and the media, insisting on a pan-Serbian plot, have generated in Serbia a disturbing xenophobia—about 75 percent of the respondents believe that only the Serbs, Russians, and Greeks are honest people against the entire world. Probably there are an equal number of those who believe that the former Yugoslavia fell apart only because this was "in the interest of the Comintern," which has not existed for decades now. Or because the Vatican has been trying at any price "to finally get to warm water." No one for that matter can any longer dissuade such people that "reliably" we do not possess atomic weapons; that from here we cannot hit Rome and London and perhaps even Washington with special missiles the world does not know about; that an AWACS caught in some "Tesla's spider web" did not recently "disintegrate" in our sky; that we do not have MiG 31's, which, incidentally, even the Russians have not produced as yet; or that our recently promoted Serbian defensive dog, which goes by the abbreviation SOP, cannot detect and devour an entire minefield in a morning with no bad effects on his stomach at all.

In the specific case of the shelling of the UNPROFOR, it would have been difficult for Seselj to lose anything because, as he usually does, he "took his shoes off before he reached the brook" and invented reliable information. On this occasion, Radovan Karadzic lost a great deal with that same world. Not, of course, because his people shelled the UNPROFOR, but because he acknowledged it. After all, others are also shelling and keeping quiet. To admit, for that matter, to Butrus-Ghali and Clinton that the UNPROFOR, in accordance with the tried-and-true Muslim formula, had not shelled itself, but that this was done by "our people," because the heat and the brandy went to their heads, falls among the most serious forms of treason and detracts from the idea of the angelic character of the Serbs in this war. And if one were to pick away a little more, one might even arrive at the "reliable information" that Karadzic himself has begun to plot with the CIA and to bend under various pressures, that is, that he is no longer preserving "Serbism, freedom, and the faith on cold Lake Geneva." Following the same logic, in the end one might learn from reliable sources that "the CIA bought a house" for him, as it did at one time for Vuk Draskovic on that same lake. One more mistake like that and we could soon get an entire "Karadzic file" like those about Milan and Zivota Panic.

In Graham Greene's book, *The Third Man*, which describes the atmosphere in postwar Vienna, when it was divided into occupation zones, the hero says that "a man's file is never altogether complete." "A case," he says, "is never really over, even a century later when all the participants are dead." For that matter, it is possible to draw a great many other interesting parallels between

the Vienna described in *The Third Man* and Belgrade today. In the Vienna of that time, as Greene described it, everyone was involved in some kind of black market, and its organization was altogether reminiscent of totalitarian parties—many small black marketeers had an easy conscience because they had the feeling that they were working for an employer and a big boss. "We are all," the hero says at one point, "selling cigarettes and exchanging schillings for occupation money.... You will not find a single member of the Control Commission who has not violated the regulations." And there, just like in Belgrade today, people were disappearing without a trace and files were springing up, except that instead of petroleum and foreign exchange they were mainly smuggling scarce penicillin. Policemen and amateur detectives were also in great demand there; Greene says of the latter that they had an advantage over the professionals because they could "take risks and pose at random various theories," based, of course, on "reliable" information.

Belgrade today, in which bombardment is mentioned very frequently, has for months now been bombed every day with various explosive and incendiary mixtures and cocktails of truths, half-truths, and lies about people and events. In the universal chaos, it is increasingly difficult to recognize and separate information from disinformation, secrets from imputations, or to establish what of all this comes from the police kitchen, what comes from amateurish "reliable sources," and where these two firms are involved in a coproduction. Thus, within days we have "reliably learned" that Draskovic betrayed Giska and Beli, that Milosevic met with Tudjman on Brioni, and that a list of politicians who withdrew their money in time from Dafiment Banka will soon be published. The only thing that is certain here is that in politics, as in water polo, the dirtiest blows are under water and hard to see with the naked eye.

Inflation of everything, and of money in particular, opens up an endless area on the other side for irrationalities of every kind. Every rumor is taken as at least the "small change of some truth." The universal misery also engenders a need for informing, which is a favorite discipline in these parts anyway. Every neighbor who is seen with more than two bags of laundry detergent, 10 kg of sugar, or a can of gasoline becomes a potential member of some invisible black-marketeering "penicillin gang" as in *The Third Man*. We perhaps soon might have a situation in which the Serbian police, although powerful and numerous, might implore the public (as the Gestapo once did) to suspend its informing activities for a time because it was not possible to "process" all the accusations.

In an environment in which everything is known reliably, much of what our lives depend on directly is at the same time covered with a veil of mystery. The person who knows from "reliable sources" what the CIA intends to do in Sarajevo with the UNPROFOR and the Muslim authorities perhaps could help us in learning how much money has been issued in Yugoslavia, whether there are private firms whose needs are being met by printing money, or solve the riddle of why street dealers always see the new bank notes before the unfortunate governor of the central bank?

"I do not have evidence, but I say," has become the motto of our days, and the open files which have dragged through the papers for months are the most frequent journalistic genre. The party police forces and authorized informers are every day stuffing the journalists with new evidence about those marked for political destruction. In just the last several days, many cases have been opened or announced according to much that same principle and from various workshops, and it is quite certain that their tails will be with us in coming weeks. Goran Hadzic, president of the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina], is suspected of being a commonplace war profiteer who drained fuel from Krajina tanks and filled his own pockets. In defending himself against these accusations, Hadzic at the same time opened up the case of Rade Leskovac, leader of the Krajina Radicals, who was accused of being Tudjman's man and of having furnished financial aid to the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union].

Behind that collision between Hadzic and Leskovac, by all appearances, there is more than just a direct conflict between two parties—the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and SRS [Serbian Radical Party], over who will hold power in the RSK. It is rather a case that when the shooting, mass destruction, and killing stop, the battle begins between the various currents and lords of this war over which of them will control what market. The time seems to have come for many "patriots," as someone has already noted, to be paid in the coin of power and honor. There is not sufficient proof for this assertion, but the "well-informed" assure us that, just as in *The Third Man*, members of various secret gangs which trade in the goods which are in the greatest demand in these parts—petroleum and patriotism—will begin to climb out of the sewers and have it out with one another.

Kosovo

Police Prevent Albanian Pupils From Entering Schools

AU0109184893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] The first day of September marks the first day of the new school year in the republic of Kosova. However, reports from Kosova state that, today, the Serbian police prevented the Albanian pupils from entering schools, especially high schools. It is reported that police forces, armed to the teeth, were stationed in front of the schools.

As was been warned, the Serbian regime would use all means of violence to make it impossible for the Albanian pupils to attend lessons in schools.

The Albanian education institutions in the republic of Kosova have warned that they will not abandon schools that are built with the sweat of the Albanian workers of Kosova and will not [word indistinct] in the continuity of Albanian education.

Serbs Impose Conditions

AU0109185093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Belgrade reiterated its goal of not allowing the development of Albanian education in Kosova. Speaking about this problem, Danilo Markovic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Government, who recently made a visit to Prizren, declared that pupils and teachers of the Albanian minority can only enter the elementary and high schools if they accept to work according to the plans and programs of the Republic of Serbia.

Conflict in Province Viewed as Political

93BA1386C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 93 pp 34-36

[Report of the Fund for Humanitarian Law: "A State in Blue"]

[Text] Over the period from September 1990 to July 1991, the authorities of the Republic of Serbia issued a sizable number of decisions and laws to optimize the school network and establish a uniform educational system in the Republic of Serbia.

During the 1990/91 academic year, two elementary schools in Pec Opstina, secondary schools in Vucitrn, Podujevo, and Lipljan, Albanian-language departments of secondary schools in Obilic, Kosovo Polje, Zvecan, Kijevo, and Zegra, and several sections and schools at the university were closed in Kosovo on the basis of those measures. In connection with enrollment in secondary schools, on 1 June 1991 the Assembly of Serbia advertised a competition limiting the enrollment of Albanian-language pupils: Out of the 36,000 pupils who completed elementary school, only 10,250 could enroll in one of the secondary schools. This competition for Serbian-language instruction envisaged 800 places beyond the number of pupils who graduated from elementary school.

The Educational Institution of Kosovo, the Institution for Issuing Textbooks, and ancillary school, educational, and scientific institutions were suspended in the name of the uniform educational program, and more than 18,000 instructors and employees in Albanian-language schools and university divisions were discharged and deprived of their salaries because they did not accept the "uniform textbooks." Coercive measures were adopted on the same grounds in 139 elementary schools, seven preschool institutions, and all cultural institutions.

The decisions and policy of the Serbian Assembly and Government of the Republic of Serbia have been applied even in special schools: 34 instructors of the Albanian nationality were discharged from the schools for deaf-mute children in Prizren, allegedly because they are not using the syllabi of the Republic of Serbia, although the curriculum for deaf-mutes was drawn up in Belgrade.

This policy on the part of the authorities of the Republic of Serbia has been perceived by Kosovo Serbs and members of the Serbian national community in Serbia as a reestablishment of the law-governed state over the entire territory of Serbia. Only quite a small group of Belgrade intellectuals has publicly opposed it. Together with a group of Pristina intellectuals, on 26 July 1991 they sent a protest to the Assembly of Serbia against the decisions and policy depriving the Albanian population of the right to decide independently all issues in the domain of education and enlightenment, especially against the closing down of schools, the dismissal of teachers, and the limitation of enrollment to Albanian-language secondary schools.

The Opening of "Illegal" Albanian Schools

About 250,000 Albanian-language pupils completed the academic year 1990/91 according to the curriculum of the suspended Educational Institution of Kosovo. When the authorities of the Republic of Serbia made enrollment in the next grade conditional upon passing additional subjects in accordance with the curriculum of the Educational Institution of Serbia, Albanian schools were opened in private houses in Kosovo.

According to figures presented by Redzep Osmani, president of the Naim Fraseri Federation of Albanian Teachers, and Halim Hiseni, director of the suspended Pedagogical Institution of Kosovo, 274,280 pupils attended elementary school and 63,340 secondary school in academic year 1992/93.

Police Violence in Albanian Schools

According to the figures of Albanian educationists, during this year's June enrollment in the freshman class of secondary school the Serbian police carried out a hit-and-run attack on Albanian schools in order to seize school records: 25 searches in schools and educational institutions, 1,200 certificates, 20 stamps, and 296 roll books were taken by force, and 25 principals of elementary and secondary schools, three teachers, and four school secretaries were called in for "interviews." Four principals and one teacher suffered serious consequences from physical mistreatment.

On the basis of research conducted by the Fund for Humanitarian Law in the second half of June 1993, there are indications that the authorities of the Republic of Serbia, after the Kosovo system of education and training was suspended and abolished, have been practicing various kinds of pressure and violence toward all those participating in the independent Albanian schools and training or supporting it.

The principal of one of the 11 secondary schools in Pristina has been arrested four times because of working in an "illegal" school. The last time was 18 June 1993.

He was at a meeting of secondary school principals in the Pedagogical Institution of Kosovo when several inspectors of the state security service entered the room and demanded that those present show their personal documents. When the inspectors gathered up the school records, uniformed policemen ordered the secretary for secondary education in Pristina and the vice president of the Albanian Teachers' Association to leave with them. On that occasion, they struck with billy clubs a teacher said to be one of the most prestigious Albanian educationists.

The principal of this school says of his experience with the Serbian police: "From 1300 to 2100 hours, I was questioned by several inspectors concerning the school and a fight in front of the school which occurred in early November 1991. They even kicked me, and worst of all was when I had to take off my shoes and socks, raise my feet onto a chair, and endure the blows of their billy clubs to the soles of my feet. From time to time, they would put my feet in cold water, and then they would resume this punishment. Finally, they forced me to take a grenade which they had brought and to throw it on the floor. It was a grenade used for instruction. When they released me, they said that I would recognize the real police if I revealed that they had beaten me. The physician who examined me established contusion of the extremities and an injury to the head. He told me quite openly that I might permanently lose hearing in my right ear."

According to the testimony of the school principal, the next day the people came to the school again. They took away roll books and other records, and they continued to question him about the Albanian schools. It is the impression of that principal that the police are bothered most by his determination to continue to work in the school. He is firmly convinced that they will not leave him in peace.

That same day, inspectors of the Serbian police invaded the house of the family A. in the Pristina settlement of Vranjevac, where there is a secondary school for 1,688 pupils. They demanded that the teachers turn over school records to them, and when they refused, they went into the classrooms and took away the roll books in front of the pupils and teachers.

On 1 November 1991, this family made its house in Vranjevac available to the Business School. A few days before the academic year began, a group of some 50 police rushed into the yard of their house, made a search, and took away seven men, relatives and neighbors, for "questioning." They beat two of them in the police station. One of those detained fled abroad afterward.

When the school opened, representatives of Elektrokosmet turned off the power on grounds that "private electricity is being used for school purposes" and this violates the legal regulations of the Republic of Serbia. The owner of the house was fined 5,800 German marks. The school now has power because the owner has run a line from the house in which he lives.

Two members of this family fled to Germany after an incident in which one of them hit a policeman when the latter assaulted him, while two others held their pistols drawn. All of this occurred in the family's house during one of the frequent police visits. The young man and an uncle managed to escape from the house, and M.A., the oldest member of the family, took the pistol away from the policeman when he was preparing to fire the fifth bullet after the fugitives. Nor did the police reinforcements that arrived manage to find them. That is why they came down on M. They continued to beat him in the police station. They let him go on condition that he convey a threat to the male members of the family that they not resist the police, that they find the son and brother, and tell no one that they had beaten him.

When representatives of the CSCE mission learned of the event, they suggested that M. go with them to the police station and pacify the situation. They were met at the door by an inspector who, according to the testimony of M.A., told Mr. Venjamin Karacostaoglou various falsehoods about him and thereby humiliated him as a person. They refused to see the CSCE representatives, and they took M.A. into a room for questioning. He was beaten in particular because he had turned to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] people. One of the inspectors laughed as he hit him and asked: "Where are those people from the CSCE now to protect you?"

Representatives of the Fund for Humanitarian Law heard from M.A. that the police were continuing to harass him in connection with his son: "The police are still coming to my house and looking for my son and brother. On 17 May, they came to take me away to pay that electricity bill. I did not go, but I asked them how they got my bill? On 25 May, they came for me to give them the address of my son in Germany. I refused. On 18 June, they looked for me when they were collecting the school roll books. Because of all that, I now mainly hide, and I do not sleep at home at night. Nor do I drive the car, because they recognize it and stop it on the road. I know they will not leave me alone. I have transferred the house where the Business School is located to my son, and he is sufficiently far away from the Serbian police."

Negotiations Between Albanian Educationists and the Serbian Authorities

During two years of negotiations concerning the Albanian schools, the Serbian side was offering Albanian-language instruction within the limits of the legal rights and obligations adopted by the bodies of the Serbian government to establish the uniform educational system on the territory of Serbia. The Albanian educationists have been trying to explain that a first condition for

normalization of the situation is reinstatement of the pupils and restoration of Albanian-language instruction in the school buildings.

An analysis of the laws, curricula, and decisions adopted by the Serbian authorities, and they directly relate to educational policy in Kosovo, shows that their application deprives the right of Kosovo Albanians to decide independently about schools and education and also to administer schools and educational and training institutions. Thus, adoption of the Law Repealing the Law on Education in Kosovo (SLUZBENI GLASNIK SRBIJE, No. 75, 1991, dated 17 December 1991) took jobs from a large number of Albanian teachers. That law and the laws rescinding the Law on the University, the Law on Higher Education, the Law on the Pedagogical Academy, the Law on Secondary Education, and the Law on the Educational Council of Kosovo suspended the institutional education system for Kosovo Albanians. From the institutional standpoint, Kosovo Serbs were awarded the status of privileged citizens in getting education and in administering institutions taken away from the Albanians.

It is a fact that the Albanian schools and education are operating within the framework of the 1990 curricula. With its accompanying school institutions, it has all the characteristics of an institutional system.

If these facts are honored and the right of Kosovo Albanians to decide independently on their education in the Serbian state is not disputed, there could be an agreement between the Albanian educationists and the authorities of Serbia in the interest of resolving the Kosovo issue.

The Fund for Humanitarian Law hopes that the government authorities of Serbia will accept a compromise solution: Albanian-language instruction in the school buildings, recognition of the validity of the 1990 curricula, and reinstatement of all the Albanian teachers who were previously employed. Because the school and educational institutions such as the Institution for Issuing Textbooks and the Educational Institution of Kosovo have continued to perform their functions "underground," these and other school institutions should be allowed to operate normally.

Police Violence Represented as the "Law-Governed State"

Political tensions in Kosovo have increased over the last two months.

The cases investigated indicate that the situation is becoming strikingly prone to incidents after the first official statements that the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] would refuse to extend the term of the CSCE observer missions. The Serbian authorities are responding to the increasingly frequent armed incidents and deliberate attacks on police patrols with large-scale police repression (searches of Albanian houses, arbitrary custody and physical mistreatment of Albanians) to let the Albanian population know that they are individually and collectively responsible for every terrorist provocation toward the Serbian authorities.

Searches and Physical Mistreatment

Four deliberate attacks on police patrols occurred in Glogovac, Pec, Prizren, and Podujevo over the period from 23 May to 25 July 1993. The Serbian police have been applying the following measures in order to discover the perpetrators: large-scale searches of Albanian houses, taking a large number of Albanians into custody, and the use of force during interrogation.

During the attack on the police patrol on 23 May 1993, at the approach to the town of Glogovac two policemen were killed and five were seriously injured. According to allegations of the investigating judge of the District Court in Pristina, the attackers used automatic weapons with soft-nose ammunition. At least 26 rounds were fired on the police vehicle from point-blank range; the first rounds killed the driver and one policeman.

Representatives of the Fund for Humanitarian Law have talked to inhabitants of two of the eight villages in which, according to figures of the Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina, the Serbian police have been searching Albanian houses, mistreating local people without reason, and continuing to beat many of them in the police station.

R., a university student from the village of Glanosele, which is a few kilometers from Glogovac, says that a group of some 30 policemen invaded his house in the early morning, a few hours after the incident. He did not know about the attack and the killing of the policemen. They took him into the yard without letting him dress, saying that they knew he was the killer. They handcuffed his father. They looked for weapons. The old man persistently repeated that he was certain that his son could not have done anything like that and that there were no weapons in their house.

R. says of the mistreatment and humiliation which he experienced: "They were leading us toward the center of the village when a policeman from a nearby hill reported over the walkie-talkie that some man was observing us from a tree in the yard of a house nearby. Half of the policemen headed for that house and there they beat my relative, I., who had climbed into a tree to see what was happening outside. They also beat his son, and both had to receive treatment from a doctor. That night and morning they searched 15 of the 20 houses in the vicinity, and they beat about 10 people. Among them, a 14-year-old boy. They found a hunting rifle for which Dzemail Ladrovci had a permit and a gun over 100 years old in the possession of Sabe Ladroci. Both had to report to the police station. When I refused to show where a relative of mine lives, a policeman beat me in front of my father, which was particularly humiliating for me."

According to testimony of the university student R., he experienced the worst in the police station in Pristina:

"They took me into Room No. 118. The inspectors came in, and one of them immediately began to hit me. He asked me whether I favored Kosovo a republic? I answered that I did. Asked whether I was against the Republic of Serbia in Kosovo, I answered in the affirmative. They continued to kick me and hit me with billy clubs. They beat me for 10 minutes or so, and then they resumed the questioning. At one point, I was seized by two police and one man in civilian clothes, they stuck the billy club in my mouth and hit me with anything at hand. Three of them stood to one side and looked on. It ended when they took me into the corridor and handcuffed me to the radiator. I stood there for about two hours.

"Later, state security inspectors Ljutfi Ajazi and...I think that the other was Ivic (he was the main one for Kosovo) took me to their building. I later learned that just before they came, they talked to representatives of the CSCE observer mission (Venjamin Karacostanoglou and Peter Alan Prahar). They questioned me without beating me. At first, they said that I had killed the policemen, then that I knew the names of the killers, and then they moved on to accusations that I had fought in the Croatian Army, that my brother and his wife are members of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and are killing innocent people. The only reason for that is that in 1991 I worked as a laborer in Zagreb and my brother also worked there at the time. When they moved on to questioning related to my stay in Albania, they said that I had trained in some military bases for special training. But I was treated there for injuries I received during four months in the Pristina prison because of participation in the demonstrations in 1990.

"They let me go that evening to spend the night with relatives, whom the police also mistreated, and I was to report the next day at 0745 hours. At that time, they questioned me about the work of the Human Affairs Committee and about politics. They let me go again, but I was to report in four days. On that occasion, they demanded that I tell them the names of the killers, and when I said once again that I did not know and that I condemned any terrorist act, they asked me what I thought about that murder? When I said that I agree with the opinion of Ibrahim Rugova and Vuk Draskovic that this act was committed by the paramilitary formations of Vojislav Seselj in order to start a war in Kosovo, Inspector Ivic said that we were the ones who killed those police and that Vuk Draskovic was killing people in Belgrade. He also told me to tell everyone who asked that we will all be swallowed up by darkness.

"When they let me go, they threatened that unless I changed my political convictions I would be physically liquidated. I asked that they issue me some document that I had been taken into custody. They refused. I told them that I was going to the Human Rights Committee to tell what they had done to me, and they said: 'Go where you like and say what you like.'"

E.V. was employed until August 1990 in the police station in his village near Glogovac. At that time, he was given his notice just like all the other Albanian police. A few days after the incident in Glogovac he was taken to the police station. He alleges the following in connection with the behavior of the police:

"They shoved me into a car in which there were already some 15 men. They even stuffed people into the trunk. They beat us in the head with rifle butts in front of the police station. They called for me to step forward. They shouted at me and pointed to me as a traitor who did not want to work with them. They struck me. One tried to put handcuffs on me, but I pushed him away. They threw me to the ground and began to kick me. My former colleague, Commander Vladimir Todorovic, shouted for them to leave me alone, that that was not what they agreed. The young inspector came, whom they referred to as the Bulgarian, specifically to find me. He started to hit me with a rifle butt near the heart, but I moved and it caught me in the shoulder. He hit the young lad Enver in the head, almost put out his eye. Enver fell beside me, and I did not dare to pick him up.

"I was taken to a young inspector. I refused to sit down, saying why were they offering me a chair when they took me into custody as a terrorist? I said that I knew nothing about the attack on the police and that I was at home with my family at that time. I asked him why he did not just kill me like a human being rather than humiliating me this way? When I said that, he sent me off to go down with the other detainees. I had to run through a gauntlet of policemen, and I received a blow from every one.

"They crammed us into a corridor. There were about 150 of us. The corridor led to the toilet, and on the other side there were policemen who were constantly beating whoever came near enough to them. Trying to avoid the blows, we retreated, so that we were packed together like sardines. These policemen forced us to stand on one leg and hold up our arms. We heard that they had come for this occasion from Prokuplje. We spent more than five hours that way. Many people, including myself, were bloody from the beating. I asked for water and asked to see a doctor. One policeman asked me in response to that whether I knew that he was Seselj's chetnik? I recoiled at that, but he caught the young man Hasan Buzaki and began to look for a knife to cut the throat of a Skipetar. He was out of his mind. Commander Vladimir Todorovic and his deputy, Cerin, came and took him away. They tied him up because he resisted and shouted horribly.

"A new group of police arrived. They said at once that they were Seselj's Radicals and had cut the throats of many Muslims in Bosnia, and now they would cut ours as well. They asked whether there was anyone who had a picture of Rugova? To my surprise, one elderly man spoke up. They brought him a telephone and ordered him to call Rugova. The old man said in bad Serbian that he did not know the number. They forced him, laughing and beating him. He made a pitiful and comical impression up to the point when they beat him. He was unable to stand up. They ordered those who had previously

worked in the police to speak up. I was the only one. They took me into a neighboring room where six policemen were standing. As soon as I entered, they began to shout that I had killed the policemen. They ordered me to take off my shoes and to lie on the bed so they could tie me up. I replied that they would have to kill me first. One of them leaped and hit me with a pistol and broke my tooth. Two beat me with billy clubs, two with boards that had nails in them, and the other two just laughed. I was bleeding. I grabbed a pillow so that I could soften the blows. Later, I wrapped the pillow case around my head. They gave me a sound beating and sent me back into the corridor.

"The bloodiest was a man whose face they had cut with a knife.

"They let us go one by one every five minutes. They threatened that they would kill us all if anything like that happened again.

"I worked in the police for years and I know about police beatings, but this...this was unimaginable."

Background Interviews

On the basis of cases investigated in the field, there are indications that the Serbian police are using the same behavioral matrix toward the Kosovo Albanians in connection with suspicion that all the Albanians are secretly armed. The Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina has figures on 1,521 cases of searches of Albanian houses and physical mistreatment of people, allegedly because they refuse to turn over weapons which they are keeping in secret places.

In this connection, a journalist of the weekly newsmagazine NIN (25 June 1993, "To What Do They Object in Arkansas?" by Dragan Cicic) presented the case of the young man Hisni Orluri of Krajmirovci near Lipljan and about his appearance one week after a background interview in the police station: "Bewildered blue eyes with still bluer rings around them, bruises on his shoulders and arms, and swollen hands indicate that the requests for information were not merely verbal." What is more, the journalist quotes the young man's testimony about the reasons he was taken into custody: "Three months before, they had begun to demand that my father turn in his weapon. He told them he did not have one, but they said that his son would probably be more truthful. They told me to report every Thursday, and now I do not know what to do. We have no weapons, but I know they will not believe me."

Premeditated Murders

The case of Adem Zeciri of Djakovica, who was beaten and tortured to death as a prisoner, shows that suspicion, interrogation, and beating of Albanians for no reason is a quite mild version of police violence. The report on the causes of the prisoner's death (Record No. 1790), which was signed by Suzana Razovic, a physician in the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Pristina, states that death occurred on 16 February 1993 as the result of a shock caused by the large number of bruises on the body.

Representatives of the Fund for Humanitarian Law spoke to an eight-year-old lad from the village Ajvalija, who was present at the murder of his Uncle Hazif and the wounding of his Uncle Sami. According to his allegations, on 3 December 1992 his uncles were selling cigarettes at the market in Pristina when the police conducted a raid. He came by with his father when the policemen were attempting to pull his Uncle Sami into a car. He resisted, and they beat him. He managed to flee and headed for the yard of the mosque. At that time, they fired into the air. His Uncle Hazif started to flee, also toward the mosque. The young man was hidden behind the wall of the mosque and saw the police fire after the uncles with automatic weapons. They killed Hazif on the spot, and they hit his uncle Sami in both legs.

His Uncle Sami was treated for two months. He was interrogated during his stay in the hospital and criminal charges were filed against him for resisting law enforcement agencies. The charge was later withdrawn. His family did not complain to the Serbian government agencies because they are convinced that it is "pointless to complain."

Planted Explosives

The figures on armed incidents during the last two months indicate that the attacks have not been on neighbors and citizens of Serbian or Albanian nationality, but on the government authorities of the Republic of Serbia. In the opinion of Albanian politicians and certain leaders of the Serbian opposition, terrorism in Kosovo, especially the armed attack near Glogovac, is being carried out by paramilitary groups sent from Serbia, their mission and their methods dictated by the Serbian authorities.

According to the interpretation of the official authorities of Serbia, terrorism in Kosovo is part of the separatist policy of the Albanian leaders.

Figures on new cases of violence suggest the possibility that intentional intensification of armed incidents and provocations is on the agenda in order to create the impression of an ethnic conflict. One of several such incidents occurred on 17 June in Pristina. The Albanian woman Hava Ajeti was killed as she was coming out of her house. As she was coming down the stairs, she came upon a bag which someone had thrown through the transom. She opened it to see what was inside, and at that moment a bomb exploded.

Representatives of the Fund for Humanitarian Law talked to Hava's husband, who had experienced a stroke from the shock. In his opinion, his wife's death and the increasingly frequent explosions around Albanian houses reveal the intention of the Serbian authorities to wage war against the Albanian population.

Accusations Against the Serbian Authorities

The belief that government authorities of Serbia, not the Kosovo Serbs, are those who are intentionally organizing and committing violence in Kosovo is very widespread among the Kosovo Albanians.

Kosovo Serbs are also addressing criticism and open accusations more and more frequently against the behavior and policy of the government agencies of Serbia. By contrast with the Albanians, who accuse them of threatening their human and political rights, Kosovo Serbs are making accusations about the looting of civilian property, corruption, and unlawful behavior.

For example, the miners and metallurgists of the Trepca Mines, who have been on strike for months, are accusing their (Serbian) management of theft and are saying in public that metal is being sold through private firms of former and present Serbian ministers and prime ministers. The director's response came in the form of an order that informed the employees of the "immediate danger of war" and the military importance of the mines (BORBA, 18 May and 19 June 1993).

This July, the Democratic Party of Kosovo demanded removal of the justice minister of the Republic of Serbia because his daughter, in violation of the Law on the University, transferred from the Law School in Nis to the one in Pristina, and in a few days passed a large number of examinations and received her law degree.

Enforcement of the legal regulations of the Republic of Serbia, under which Rilindja Prodaja [Rilindja Sales], whose components include the Albanian newspapers SKENDIJA, FJALJA, and BUJKU, is passing over to the government-owned (Serbian) firm Panorama, resulted in a strike of the employees and removal of the Serbian director at Rilindja Prodaja. The employees (most of them Albanians) have refused every possibility of the imposed Panorama appointing director and editors in Albanian newspapers. The person who up until now has been director of Rilindja Prodaja has been called a "Serbian traitor" solely because he opposed termination of the successful Rilindja Prodaja and because his business policy was supported by the Albanians.

The CSCE Observer Mission

In connection with the case of Rilindja Prodaja, the CSCE observer mission in Kosovo acted as an intermediary and had something to do with the consent of the Serbian authorities not to force the Albanian newspapers into the Serbian Panorama.

If the mandate of the CSCE mission in Kosovo had been extended, the problem of the demand of the Serbian authorities that Rilindja Prodaja pay rent for use of its own offices probably would have been resolved objectively and on behalf of Albanian-language news reporting.

According to figures of the Fund for Humanitarian Law, the CSCE observer mission in Kosovo has displayed diplomatic skill in resolving each individual incident. The institution of the protection of the human rights on principles of objectivity, tolerance, restraint, and persistence has been introduced into Kosovo practice. With the decision not to extend the mandate of the CSCE mission, the authorities of Serbia have made yet another wrong move in connection with Kosovo.

Kosovo Serbs and Albanians

Unlike Vojvodina and Sandzak, in Kosovo there are no recorded cases confirming that Kosovo Serbs and Albanians are using force against one another and displaying ethnic difference or enmity. In private life, they do not communicate. The public spheres of social and political life are separate: Except for police authorities, the Serbian institutions are functioning on paper, but the commissions, bodies, and institutions of the former independent Province of Kosovo are functioning within the everyday life of Kosovo Albanians.

One of the rare meetings between Kosovo Serbs and Albanians was recently arranged by the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo in connection with organizing the drive to clean the cities. The streets, they say, were cleaned by some Serbs, Turks, Muslims, and Gypsies.

Optimism

On the basis of the cases investigated in the field, the Fund for Humanitarian Law finds that arbitrary and uncontrolled behavior of the Serbian police toward Kosovo Albanians revealed a police state instead of the declared law-governed state. In spite of the practice of the authorities of the Republic of Serbia to deal with Kosovo Albanians with police terror because of their political convictions, it is an encouraging fact that the inhabitants of Kosovo are not involved in a conflict of an ethnic nature.

The Fund for Humanitarian Law especially emphasizes the observation that police terror has not produced a feeling of mass fear in Kosovo Albanians. They have become a public that is documenting the facts of terror by the government authorities of Serbia for political reasons.

This report was written 1 July 1993.